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FEBRUARY

Current HISTORY

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RHODES SCHOLARS' TROUBLES AT OXFORD

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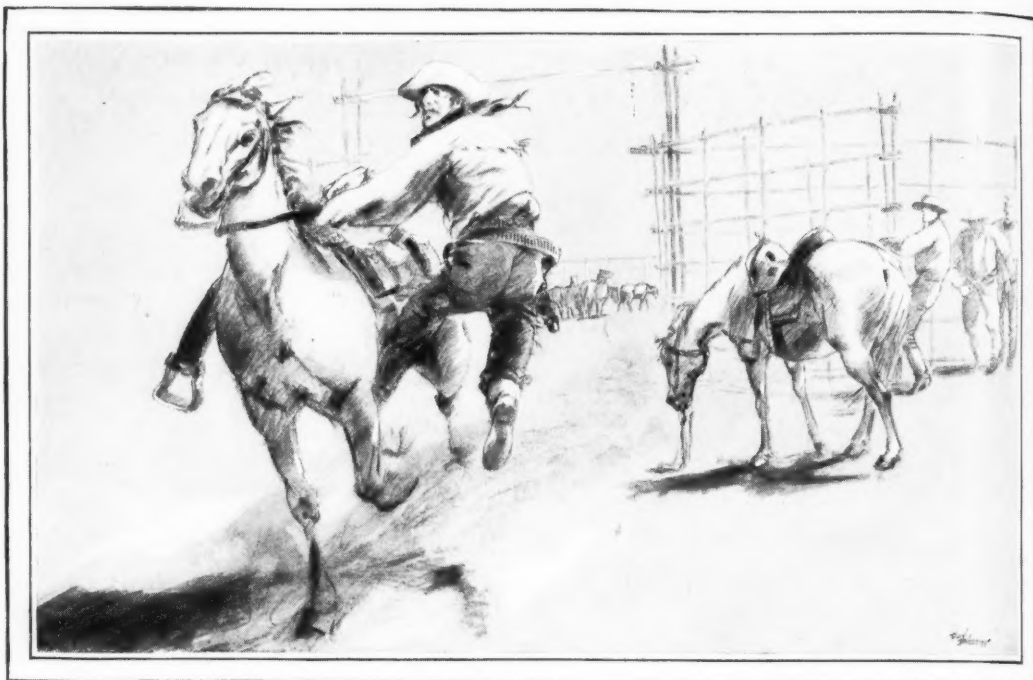
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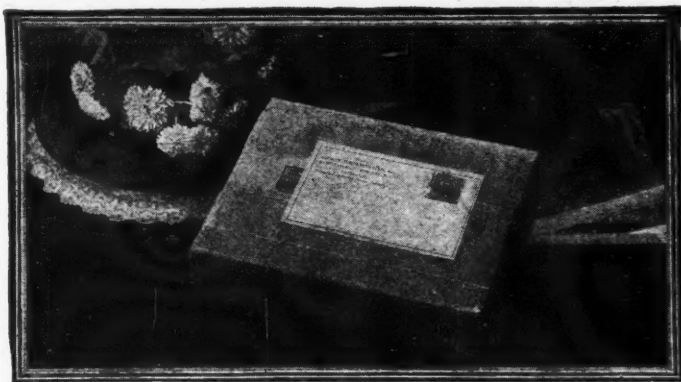
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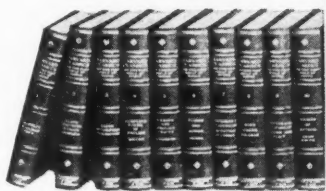
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CURRENT HISTORY

BOOK REVIEWS

Vol. XXVII

February, 1928

Number 5

What the Mexican People Want

By CHARLES JOHNSTON

CHARLES KINGSLEY said that every youth of open mind passes through a stage of Socialism. Generosity then outstrips judgment. With experience comes a tendency toward conservatism. William English Walling began as a convinced advocate of Socialism. Then he revolted against the cruelty and tyranny of the disciples of Karl Marx in Soviet Russia. Experience of Socialism in action brought a more conservative view. But the spirit of generosity remains, as is proved by Mr. Walling's recent book on Mexico.*

The Mexican question has three main elements: first, the problem of the land; second, the organization of labor; third, the conflict over subsoil rights, especially those involving oil. If we are to deal fairly and honorably with Mexico, we must begin with a thorough understanding of these three problems from both sides. It is easy for us to see them from the American point of view. There is, indeed, a constant danger that we may see them exclusively from our own side, and thus be guilty of injustice. The high value of Mr. Walling's book lies in his ability and willingness to consider each of them from the Mexican side also, as fairness demands that we should see them.

The Mexican view is not arbitrary or perverse, as we are too ready to assume. It is the outgrowth, not of theory but of long centuries of troubled history. Its roots strike deep into the past. When the Conquistadores landed at Vera Cruz in the Spring of 1519 they found Mexico in the grip of a destructive and bloodthirsty Aztec despotism, with a detestable system of human sacrifices growing every year more intolerable. It was altogether well that this evil system should be swept away. But, almost inevitably, Hernando Cortez substituted a new tyranny hardly less oppressive. He took possession of the whole land of Mexico in the name of the King of Spain, extinguishing all rights of the native populations in their own land and practically reducing them to slavery. The Spanish sovereign made large grants of

land to his friends and dependents, just as the rulers of England, basing their action on a title of the same kind, made grants of land to their friends in the territory that was to become the United States. One of these great Mexican estates, which lasted to the present century, was larger than Holland and Belgium; the proprietors ruled not only the land but also the natives who inhabited it. When the Mexicans freed themselves from Spanish despotism in 1810, the great landowners remained in possession and in power. The native races were in effect their slaves. This is the true cause of the Mexican question today.

During the years of his absolute authority, from 1877 to 1910, President Porfirio Diaz gave Mexico one thing that that country greatly needed, a firm and stable Government. So far he was a genuine benefactor of his country. But he did nothing to remedy or relieve the practical enslavement of the native population. On the contrary, he permitted fresh encroachments, and this policy brought a violent reaction.

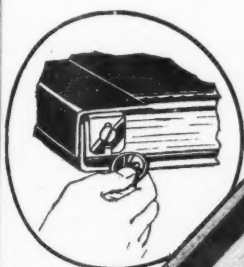
In the last few years we have gained an immense amount of knowledge regarding the ancient native peoples of Mexico and the great civilizations they developed. The buried cities of Yucatan and Guatemala have been uncovered. The extraordinary intellectual achievements of peoples like the Mayas and Toltecs have at least been indicated. We can now see that a great American civilization was overthrown by the comparatively recent inroads of the bloodthirsty Aztecs from the North. We are, moreover, coming to realize that large bodies of the gifted ancient races remain with unmixed blood and largely retaining their profoundly interesting native tongues, so that in one sense Mexico is a living museum of the forces which built up the most ancient American civilizations. Our strong and growing intellectual interest in these civilizations, as testified by the many expeditions of American explorers generously recorded in our newspapers and magazines, should be supplemented by a moral interest in the living heirs of these ancient peoples, now under eclipse.

**The Mexican Question.* By William English Walling. Robins Press: New York. \$2.

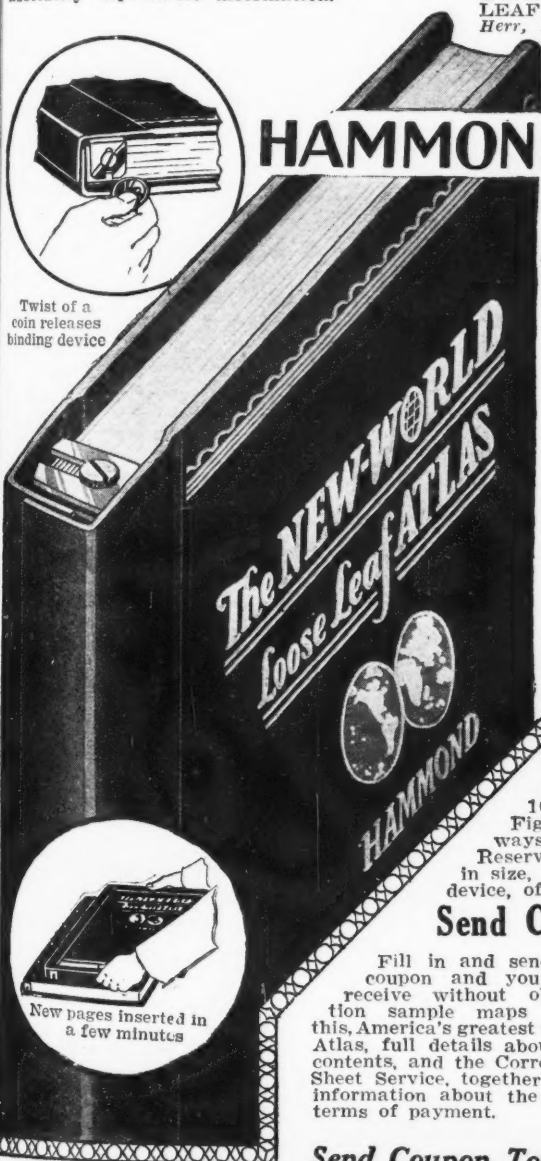
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Continued from Page vi.

We have not yet grasped the fact that the movements in modern Mexico, which are in general described as "the revolution," are largely in the interest of these most ancient Americans who have so long been ground under the iron heel of the Conquistadores and their successors. When Francisco Madero raised the standard of revolt against President Diaz it was from these most authentic Americans that he gained support. The immediate driving force was a protest against the appropriation of village common lands by the great landowners, a policy of confiscation that was permitted, if it was not instigated, by President Diaz. The movement led by Madero took form in the Mexican Constitution of 1917, which sought on the one hand to restore to the ancient native populations the recently confiscated common lands, and to turn them into peasant proprietors after the example of modern France, and, on the other, to protect the half-liberated slaves who were engaged in industry against the oppression and extortion of their employers. It is possible that the labor legislation outlined in Section 123 of the new Constitution, intended to gain this second result, may have gone too far in certain directions, but it is impossible not to sympathize with the humane and generous purpose that inspired it, and also the spirit of reconciliation in which it is being worked out. We may confidently expect that any excess will bring its own adjustment in natural and normal ways.

This fundamental cause of recent Mexican land and labor legislation Mr. Walling makes abundantly clear. His analysis of the Labor Section of the new Constitution and its application is admirable and full, and he shows that many of the aims pursued in Mexico are the same as those of the most conservative elements of American labor. The ameliorations which the Mexicans seek are largely those which have been put within the reach of American workers by our most enlightened and generous employers of labor. It should be added that American employers of labor in Mexico have done much to improve the conditions and increase the wages of native workers.

There remains the third bone of contention—oil. Here Mr. Walling falls somewhat short of revealing the historical roots of the problem. He does not make it clear that no new policy was introduced when the Constitution of 1917, in the famous Section 27, affirmed the nation's ownership of subsoil wealth, including oil. This principle in reality goes back to the days of Cortez and beyond. When the Conquistadores took possession of the land of Mexico for the Spanish sovereign, this possession included all subsoil wealth, at

that time thought of as gold and silver. In conformity with Spanish law, the sovereign was the owner of all subsoil wealth, and this ownership found concrete expression in the payment to the crown of fixed "royalties," a word we have preserved, but whose meaning we have forgotten. What the new Mexican Constitution did was to extend this ancient principle of sovereign rights to a new kind of subsoil wealth, namely, oil; no new principle was involved. Thus, in the last analysis the difficulty between our oil kings and the Mexican Government goes back to a divergence of juridical theory, which has its roots in Mexican history.

Mr. Walling has rendered a real service to Mexico by so clearly revealing the elements in dispute, and an equal service to the United States by making it easier for us to approach a solution along the lines of understanding and justice.

Imperialism and Social Revolution

By PARKER THOMAS MOON

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE twentieth century is a battle between Socialist Revolution and Imperialism, a conflict which will involve the world in a whole series of future wars, so we are lugubriously assured by Fritz Sternberg in his recent and important volume on imperialism.* Capitalism, he contends, gives birth to imperialism and of imperialism war is "the necessary consequence." Some choice, to be sure, he gives us: between foreign wars of imperialism and civil wars of social revolution. But wars there will be and must be. With so melancholy a conclusion the reviewer is too optimistic to agree, yet one may hardly ignore the challenge of the book. It is a significant addition to the small list of volumes attempting to deal, not with this or that episode or aspect, but with the whole gigantic process of modern imperialism.

Regarding the meaning of "imperialism," there has been a good deal of misunderstanding. Sternberg gives a rather useful definition: "Imperialism is the phase of capitalistic development in which capitalism to an ever larger extent proceeds with the capitalistic penetration of non-capitalistic territories."

Continued on Page xii.

**Der Imperialismus*. Fritz Sternberg: Malais Verlag, Berlin, 1926. 614 pp.

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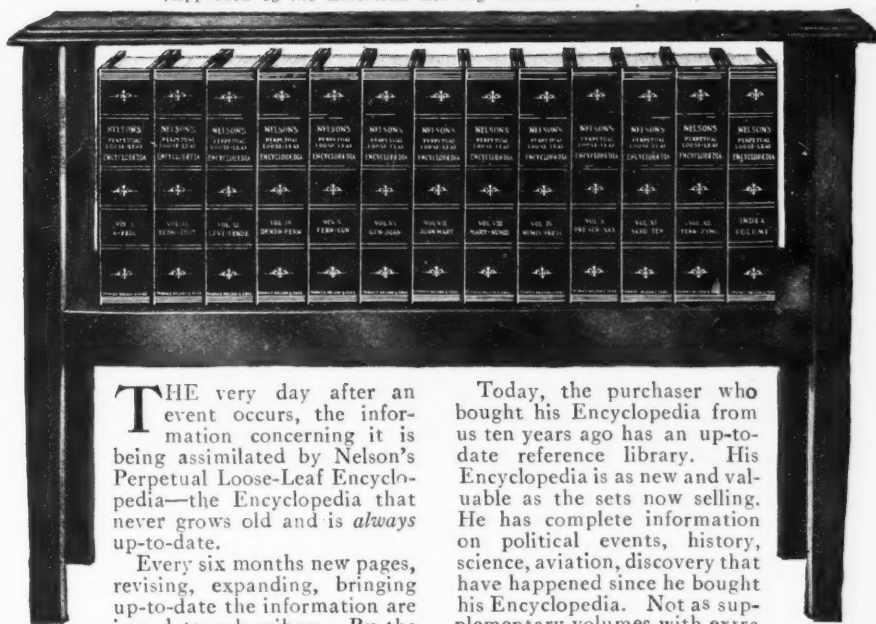
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which it seeks to bring under the sovereignty of the mother-country" (p. 276). It is of this annexationist imperialism that Sternberg is thinking when he asserts that it cannot be peaceful, that it requires force, that it makes colonial wars "not the exception but the rule" (p. 77). Too often, however, he forgets the political element and speaks of imperialism in purely economic terms as the expansion of capital into backward countries or undeveloped areas (e. g. pp. 49, 265). That might include Wall Street loans to Western agriculture, or American investments in Canada, or British investments in Argentina—events which require neither force nor war. Imperialism is not synonymous with investment.

Considering imperialism in the widest sense, Sternberg finds its cause in the irresistible expensive energy of modern capitalism: "Capitalism always needs non-capitalistic areas in which to expand . . ." (p. 77). The necessity is inherent in the modern profit-and-wages system and for several reasons. Capitalism, he holds, requires the workers (as Karl Marx maintained) to perform a certain amount of "surplus labor" (*Mehrarbeit*), producing thereby a "surplus value" (*Mehrwert*) for the benefit of the capitalist. The workers submit, because for each job there are several proletarians in competition; in other words, because there is a "surplus population" of unemployed labor. Imperialism adds the immense masses of humanity in backward countries to this "surplus population."

Moreover, a large part of the "surplus value" received by the capitalists is reinvested in the enlargement or improvement of factories. Hence there is an ever-increasing volume of products to be marketed. Failing markets, overproduction would cause an "economic crisis," or rather a series of progressively intensified crises. To avoid crises, industry must seek new markets and capital itself must be exported in the form of loans, credits or investments, if the pyramiding of profits (*Reproduktion auf erweiterter Stufenleiter*) is to go on indefinitely. To this problem Sternberg devotes his longest and most important chapter (III), leading to the conclusion that imperialism is an indispensable safety-valve for capitalism.

Without attempting to review the history of imperialism, the author asserts that it begins with the opening up of colonial markets and that this first step is followed by colonial investments, railway-building, development of colonial industries and exploitation of the natives. The reader cannot avoid regretting that so little information is given on the importance of colonial markets, on the

extent to which railway-building in Africa and Asia benefited the iron industry and affected diplomacy, on the conquest of raw materials and on the exploitation of the natives. Regarding the natives, to be sure, we are informed that imperialism transforms peasants into proletarians and that "the colonial history of every imperialist State is a chain of bloody examples of the manner in which the proletarianization and often the complete expropriation of the peasants was carried out." But the "examples" are not given, nor is there any discussion of colonial administration.

On foreign and colonial investments—the core of economic imperialism—we find various sets of figures scattered through the volume. Those of France are given as 45,000,000,000 francs on one page (523) and 30,000,000,000 marks on another (567); those of Germany are 35,000,000,000 marks on page 489 and 25,000,000,000 to 40,000,000,000 on page 567; those of Great Britain range from 70,000,000,000 to 84,000,000,000 marks (pp. 282, 417, 567). These, of course, are pre-war figures. To just what extent they have been altered the author does not make any very serious effort to ascertain, nor is he concerned with details as to their effects on imperialist diplomacy, their rate of return and similar matters. Rather, he is concerned with the theoretical point that imperialism, through such investments, eases the situation in the mother country, making higher rates of profit possible. Without being too sophisticated in the ways of business the reader might have guessed that rates of profit had something to do with foreign investments. But the reader who expects to find some light on what the profits of imperialism have been or are, or just how investments have led to intervention and annexation will be disappointed.

While in these matters the book is more inclined to dogmatization than to demonstration, one reads with more interest the many pages in which Sternberg sets forth his thesis that imperialism has afforded to the working classes of Europe and America a *Schönzeit*, a period of prosperity and high wages. An elaborate argument in the Marxian manner is buttressed with tables of statistics (chiefly from various compilations) on nominal and real wages, to prove that in France wages have almost doubled during the nineteenth century, the increase being most marked in the last thirty years, while in Great Britain real wages almost doubled during the years from 1860 to 1900. Such statistics usually require a grain of salt. They should be very cautiously interpreted. Conceding their validity, however, one encounters a much greater

Continued on Page xiv.

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difficulty in the argument that imperialism caused the rise of wages. High wages in the United States, obviously an exception to the rule, are explained as the result of free land. What about France and Great Britain? "Capitalism," we read, "in a certain phase of its development must become imperialistic. For the invasion of non-capitalistic territories it needs a proletariat that has more than its chains to lose. It [capitalism] must attenuate the class-struggle and does so by means of increased real wages. It can do this, because it has realized surplus profits." Again and again the statement is repeated that imperialism before the war caused higher wages (for the future, Sternberg warns, the second phase of imperialism will be marked by unfavorable effects upon the working classes). Moreover, although the connection between the two "was not even suspected," pre-war imperialism went hand in hand with social legislation. The evidence would be interesting, but none is given.

It may astonish some readers to find a Socialist trying to prove that imperialism has benefited the working classes through higher wages and labor laws. Sternberg, however, is no advocate of imperialism. He is merely endeavoring to explain why the prophecies of Karl Marx did not come true. Marx wrote too early to foresee the effects of imperialism. Marx, therefore, must be edited. Sternberg is not the first to attempt the editing. As far back as 1912 Rosa Luxemburg dealt with imperialism as a factor modifying the Marxian doctrine of "the accumulation of capital"; and Lenin pontifically discussed imperialism as the latest and last stage of capitalism. Sternberg, however, makes a more thoroughgoing effort to readjust the whole Marxian scheme of things. After one has rather painfully plodded through hundreds of pages bristling with Marxian quotations, with technical Marxian terms, such as *Mehrwert* and *Surplusbevölkerung*, with references to the fateful "A-C Linie" and the desirable "A-D Linie," and with diagrams and intricate exegesis, the essential features that stand out are: First, the claim that imperialism has afforded the safety-valve for accumulating capital; second, the argument that imperialism has afforded higher wages for the workers, thereby causing another non-fulfilment of Marxian prophecy; third, that as a result many Socialists in imperialist countries have allowed their faith in Marx to weaken and have found false comfort in "revisionist" or "reformist" doctrines of gradual social evolution, and, finally, that imperialism changes the whole outlook for social revolution.

Sternberg believes in revolution and no

parlor revolution at that. A peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, he cries, is "one of the most dangerous illusions of the working class" (p. 321). Capitalism, "and that means imperialism, can be overturned only by civil war" (p. 335). There will be, he admits, "the bloodiest conflicts" (p. 399); revolutionary States will have to remain in arms to defend themselves against capitalist States (p. 389), and temporarily the workers will have to renounce their high wages, because the revolution will cause a falling-off in production (p. 399).

Black as the prospect is, Sternberg embraces it with enthusiasm. The alternative he offers is a series of imperialist wars leading to the collapse of civilization (pp. 322, 332, 399). Imperialism has not only caused wars in the past, but will continue to cause wars, regardless of the League of Nations (pp. 288-289) and in contempt of "bourgeois pacifism" which flourishes "in inverse proportion to knowledge of economics" (p. 291). The "deepest root" of imperialist war is the fact that colonial territories are not proportioned to the needs of the mother countries. By depriving Germany of her colonies the World War merely aggravated this situation (p. 499). But no readjustment, however magnanimous would long hold good. War is the "necessary consequence of imperialism" (p. 299). Therefore Sternberg sternly bids us choose and choose in time, lest the revolution come too late to prevent the exhaustion of civilization by imperialist war. In this vein of pessimism the author proceeds in the second part of his volume to analyze the ripeness of Great Britain, Germany, France and America for social revolution. Here he has collected a mass of interesting data regarding the concentration of industry, the accumulation of capital, the cleavage of social classes and other factors pertinent to the outlook for revolution. Non-Socialists will be relieved to learn that the revolution is not imminent. The "next great stage of the world revolution" will probably not occur until "the next imperialist war" (p. 361).

Dire as the prospect may seem, it does not quite convince the reviewer. Not because of minor defects, such as the omission of Morocco from a table on page 525, or the erroneous assertion (p. 537) that per capita war costs were heavier in France than elsewhere, or the use of numerous statistical tables from secondary works and compilations when official statistics would have provided more up-to-date and more complete data. The trouble lies deeper. The author is so steeped in the materialistic interpretation of history that he minimizes or disregards at every step in his

Continued on Page xvi.

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argument the political and sentimental factors which in fact modify economics. Economic factors are important and business interests are influential, but it is dangerous to disregard everything else. It is even more dangerous to guess at economic causes without taking the precaution to verify them by historical research. To make the generalization that French colonial expansion was due to French investment-capital shows a splendid disregard of history. To assign American industrial supremacy as the cause for the American Open Door doctrine is to commit a painful anachronism. Either of the above statements would be illuminating and true if properly qualified and related to other factors; unqualified, they are simply misleading. The assumption, without historical proof, that imperialism caused high wages and labor legislation is another and more important illustration of the same mental impatience.

Another stumbling-block for the non-Marxian reader is the ever-present but tacit assumption that "capitalism" or "capital" is an entity, a conscious being endowed with super-human clarity of vision, unity of purpose and ruthlessness of deed. "Capitalism," one infers, always perceives its interests and acts accordingly. This dread spectre which stalks through the pages of Sternberg's book is not a reality but a fabulous thing. Sternberg himself admits that the working classes are not always properly class-conscious; indeed, he makes the proletariat seem quite incorrigibly wrong-headed about its economic interests. If he can admit this why can he not admit that the capitalists of everyday life, flesh-and-blood capitalists, are about as human and almost as divided in opinion as the Socialists are? Sternberg brings us face to face with his dire dilemma, social revolution or imperialist war, but why not avoid both?

A New Biography of Marx

By LOUIS B. BOUDIN

AUTHOR OF *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx*

KARL MARX is one of the most difficult subjects of biography one can think of, and Riazanov's recent study* proves the point. To begin with, there were so many

Marxes. It is, indeed, hard to tell just how many there were without deciding a very important point in Marx-biography. We all know of at least two Marxes. There was Marx the great scholar economist, philosopher, historian—whatever one chooses to regard him in this sphere of his activities. And there was Marx the politician-revolutionist; the young Marx of the German revolution of 1848, the Marx of the émigré-revolutionist circles of the years immediately following upon that "mad year" of general European revolution, and the founder and leader of the dreaded and dreadful First International—*The International*. And then there is Marxism, with its many facets: school of thought, political party, revolutionary movement, religious cult. One of the central points in Marx-biography, and probably the most difficult, is the relation of Marxism to Marx, particularly in relation to the two Marxes we have pointed out. Which was the father of Marxism, Marx the active revolutionist or Marx the thinker, or both? But before this problem can be touched we must first determine the relation between these two Marxes, the relation between Marx the thinker and Marx the active revolutionist. And this opens up a subseries of problems: What is the core of the Marxian system of thought, if *system* there was? Is it his philosophic conception of the so-called Materialistic Conception of History? Is it his economic doctrine, the so-called theory of surplus-value? Is it a composite of both or something quite apart from both? And how much of what was the core of Marx's thought survives in Marxism, or is Marxism a thing apart from Marx, as Christianity is from Christ?

I do not know of a single figure in modern history, save Napoleon, who presents so many difficult problems to the biographer. One thing is certain, you cannot tackle either of these giants with the modern biographic method made so popular by Lytton Strachey. You may draw as many "portraits" of Napoleon as you will, and you will not get the true meaning of the historic Napoleon, quite irrespective of the merits of the portraits as likenesses or as the revelations of the "soul" of the man who once lived. The significance of Napoleon and, therefore, his *importance to us*, lies in the relation of the man and his actions to his epoch, and these can be understood only by a study of Napoleon in connection with what has come to be known as the Napoleonic Era. It is this, therefore, that true biography must interest itself with. All else will be either studies of detail or mere "literature."

The same is true of Marx. "Portraits" of Marx may be interesting, whether they present to us Marx as the amiable man crawling on

**Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*. By D. Riazanov. New York: International Publishers.

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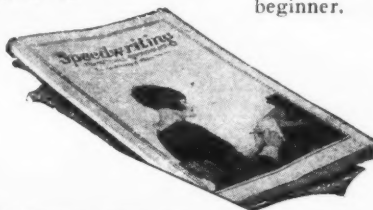
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his knees on the floor of his modest apartment with his children on his back (his loving wife looking on), as American readers may find in that typical product of American biographical literature, Spargo's *Life of Marx*, or the harsh and intolerant Marx, the persecutor of Bakunin and the stirrer up of discontent everywhere, as a less friendly pen might depict. But a real biography of Marx must not only be a reasonably complete picture of the man which would include all his features—the ideal husband, loving father and true friend, as well as the grim and often intolerant revolutionist; it must, above all, give us a key to the understanding of the *entire* man: his *thoughts* as well as his *actions*, and their relation to each other. And in order to be of real value to us, it must go beyond that; it must show us the relation between Marx and Marxism, both while he was alive and since his death. In other words, it must be a complete study of Marx, his system of thought as well as his practical activities, in its relation to the modern Socialist and labor movement.

Needless to say, the little book before us is not a biography of Marx in that sense. In fact, it does not pretend to be a biography of Marx, although its story be-

gins with his birth, including even an interesting account of his ancestry, and does not conclude until some twelve years after his death, when his lifelong friend and collaborator, Friedrich Engels, died after accomplishing with some degree of success the task of finishing Marx's magnum opus, *Das Kapital*, which Marx's premature death left unfinished.

What Riazanov offers us in this little book is a running commentary on the various phases of Marx's activities as a revolutionist, with some chapters on the background against which the picture is set, and which help to explain it. As such, the different chapters bearing on the different phases of Marx's activities throughout a busy life are of uneven merit, as they were bound to be, if we bear in mind the state of the universe today and Riazanov's relation to it.

In speaking of the difficulties of Marx-biography and comparing them with the difficulties of Napoleon-biography, I omitted a difference which makes Marx-biography a much more difficult task than Napoleon-biography. Napoleon is dead, while Marx is still alive. Napoleon has ceased to be the subject of controversy, except, perhaps, to specialists, but Marx is the greatest subject of controversy today, barring none, not even that of evolution.

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No one can therefore write on Marx today and write anything worth while, writing "dispassionately." Least of all a Marxist. In this respect Marx-biography is more like Christ-biography than anything else. No one writes a Life of Christ but for the moral of it, and the moral of it depends entirely on the school or tendency within Christianity that the author represents. Similarly, a biography of Marx of necessity becomes an evaluation of his doctrines and life activities, as seen from the point of view of an opponent or of a disciple belonging to a particular school or tendency within the general cult. For we must always bear in mind that Marxism is as much a cult as anything else.

Now, Riazanov happens to be a Marxist of the Bolshevik persuasion. I confess that when the book was announced I had hoped that it would prove to be a real Marx-biography from the Bolshevik point of view. Such a work would not only be very exciting but probably help considerably toward a just appraisal of both Marx and Bolshevism, notwithstanding its undoubted bias. I confess my disappointment at finding it a book of quite a different type. Riazanov is a scholar besides being a Bolshevik, and Marxiana is his specialty. He has spent nearly twenty-five years in the study of his subject, first under a commission from the German Social-Democratic Party, and since the establishment of the Soviet State in the service of the Russian Communist Party. His scholarship seems to weigh heavily upon him, in my opinion too heavily. He seems entirely too anxious to avoid controversial matters. As a result there is in this book considerably less Bolshevik bias than one would expect from so active a Bolshevik, but also considerably less light on Marx than one had a right to expect from such a Marx scholar as Riazanov.

In his anxiety not to give us a "one-sided"—Bolshevist—conception of Marx he has not only dwarfed his Marx but, curiously enough, made his Marx uninteresting to the general reader. As the book stands it is interesting only to Marx students, presupposing as it does on the part of the reader a general familiarity with the main events of Marx's life, upon which the book is a commentary. This is particularly to be regretted from the point of view of the American reader, since our "general reader" is much more unfamiliar with these matters than is his counterpart on the European Continent. But to one familiar with and interested in the problems and controversies of the Socialist and labor movement, the book will be a great stimulant. With all his anxiety to avoid controversial matter, Dr. Riazanov has not quite succeeded in doing so. The only way to succeed in that is to write a perfectly inane book, which this book is very far from being.

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So we learn that the point of difference between Marx and the German workingman-revolutionist Weitling, away back in 1846, turned on the question as to whether or not Socialism could be introduced without the country going through the "bourgeois phase." Riazanov informs us that in a discussion between Marx and Weitling the former—according to a letter of Weitling's—stressed the point "that Communism will be preceded by an epoch during which the bourgeoisie will be at the helm." Thus we see Marx raise as far back as 1846—and stress as a point of difference between himself and other Socialist-revolutionists—a point which has divided the labor and Socialist movement ever since, and which even now comes as near summing up the difference between "old-line Marxists" and Communists as any that can be mentioned.

The book, and particularly the first half, which is decidedly the best, is full of such interesting information, some of it decidedly new, unearthed by Riazanov himself, and some of it restated from older and less accessible sources. On the whole the book is decidedly worth while, but would gain considerably from a familiarity with Franz Mehring's *Life of Marx* which it presupposes. This raises the pertinent question, Why is that book still inaccessible to English readers? The question is pointed directly at the publishers of this book. I regret to have to close with the report that the translation is not merely inadequate but utterly unworthy of the book.

"Pan-European" Movement Dying

By HEINRICH KANNER

AUSTRIAN AUTHOR AND PUBLICIST

DR. WALTHER BORGIUS, a well-known German economic authority, in a booklet recently published in Germany,* pronounces what to all intents and purposes is a death sentence on the so-called Pan-European movement led by Count Coudenhove of Vienna.

And yet at the first Pan-European Congress, which was held in October, 1926, in Vienna, one of the principal speakers, Emil Ludwig, applied to the Pan-European movement the words uttered by Goethe after the battle of Valmy in 1792: "This place and this day marked the beginning of a new epoch of world history and you can say that you were a witness to it." Count Coudenhove, the leader of

**The Pan-European Insanity*. By Dr. Walther Borgius. Verlag der neuen Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1927.

the Pan-European movement, repeated these same words in his concluding speech, adding the utterance that the foundation stone of Pan-Europe had now been laid.

It is, however, noteworthy that since "Pan-Europe" has been founded we hear less of it than previously, when it was so much discussed. Throughout this first year of its organized existence the newly founded institution, supposedly of such historical importance, has given only two signs of life so far as publicity is concerned, and both of these were of a very dubious character. In the first case, when a Berlin film concern sought to use the adjective "Pan-European" as the title for one of its films, Count Coudenhove protested, claiming that he was the originator of this term. Apart from the fact that the original right to the phrase, if such a claim were legally tenable, would fall not to Count Coudenhove, but to the pacifist, A. H. Fried, who in his book, *Pan-America*, which appeared in 1910, constructed the term by analogy, the inference from this dispute over the use of the word would be that the main importance of the Pan-European movement lies in a word, a felicitous "slogan" or catchword given publicity—and for this Coudenhove must receive the credit—at the right psychological moment, and that the movement itself is not a well-considered political conception such as its founder claimed it to be. The second evidence of life given by Pan-Europe as thus constituted was the calling off of the second Pan-European Congress, which was to have convened in Brussels in October of the year just ended. While the first Congress at Vienna had a literary tinge, inasmuch as it formulated purely idealistic aims and contented itself with backing them only with fine-sounding quotations from Goethe, Mazzini and Napoleon, the second Congress at Brussels was to accomplish positive work, to handle the economic problems of Central Europe. But, while the Vienna Congress was carried through with uncritical enthusiasm, even the preparations for the second aroused such differences of opinion among the leaders that it became impossible to hold it. May it not be assumed from this that "Pan-Europe" is an empty word, the giving of a positive economic significance to which would be merely a loss of time? If the first Congress, according to Ludwig's and Coudenhove's words, marked the date of the birth of Pan-Europe, the second Congress, had it been held, would probably have marked the date of its dissolution. Hence it was abandoned, and the Pan-European movement now continues to exist only in appearance.

Meanwhile, however, an eminent economic "surgeon" has appeared to draw up, all unsolicited, its death certificate—viz., Dr. Walther Borgius, one of the most prominent German authorities on trade and commerce, in

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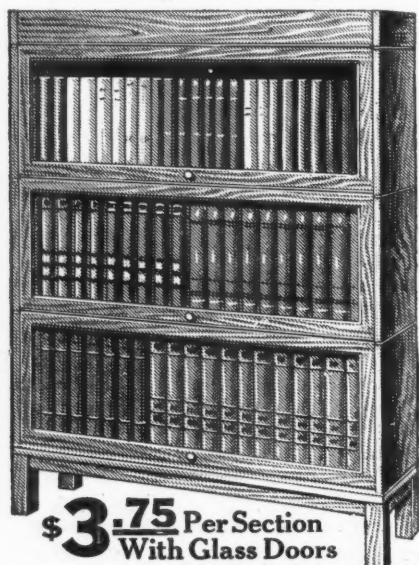
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the booklet referred to at the beginning of this article. Above all, Herr Borgius shows that the foundation of Pan-Europe was planned on a wholly wrong basis so far as sequence is concerned. First of all, the States of the European Continent to be included under the name of Pan-Europe (with the exception of Russia) were to be united in a customs union, and this end was to have been furthered by the discussions at the projected Brussels Congress. A customs union, however, between politically independent States is impossible. Between such States war is always possible, and hence they cannot give up their scientific military equipment, as would be required by a customs union, for they need it for the waging of war. A customs union is possible only between States that are politically united. Before such a customs union is concluded the European Continental States must first be politically fused in a unified federation of States. The analogy invoked by Coudenhove with special predilection in favor of his Pan-European customs union—that of the German Customs Union—is a witness against him, for that union, a fact that Coudenhove loses sight of, was concluded only between States which for a long period represented a political unity, even though incomplete, in the German confederation, and earlier in the Holy Roman Empire of the German people, and war between them was specifically excluded by treaty. To begin, therefore, with a customs union is to set the cart before the horse.

Internally, also, Continental Europe must be thoroughly pacified before any customs union can be thought of. But even if Pan-Europe were established as a political organization, it would, according to Coudenhove's own ideas, be faced by five other great groups of States similarly constituted—America, Great Britain, Russia, China and Japan. Through this building up of great State blocs, however, the danger of war would be increased, especially for the States of the European Continent, which would all be drawn into conflict with the five other States—conflicts which most of these European Continental States, guided by their own interests, can now avoid. Dr. Borgius shows that Pan-Europe does not in reality embody the pacifist tendencies attributed to it and which have brought it adherents, but, on the contrary, that it would mean a strengthening of the imperialistic spirit in Europe and throughout the whole world.

Within "Pan-Europe" itself, moreover, such a customs union would conjure up new dangers of war among the member States. It would annihilate certain national industries of some Pan-European States in favor of competing national industries of other Pan-European States. This would produce an economic tension which would bear in it the seeds of

war, if the political problem of Pan-Europe were not previously solved; and no further Pan-European Congress has been called to this end, to say nothing of the development of a concrete plan.

The customs union itself, however, as Herr Borgius shows by substantial arguments, would be a quack nostrum, even a dangerous remedy, for it would mean a catastrophic upheaval of the economic life of all Europe. Economic reconstruction, which set in after the war, would be interrupted and checked. Countries socially and politically backward would compete with countries highly advanced. Moreover, they would complicate and increase the customs duties. Internationally it would lead to the setting up of a high European protective tariff against the competition of England and America, and to the opposite of what the Pan-Europeans allege to be their object, viz., to a strengthening of imperialism.

Dr. Borgius also shows that Pan-Europe would mean the supremacy of France on the Continent of Europe, which would not tend to make the project any more agreeable to the Germans. Basically, however, he finds in Pan-Europe a tendency against Bolshevism and toward social and political reaction.

Critically considered, nothing is left of Pan-Europe but the name, the catchword that excites the imagination and soothes and consoles the tormented Europeans of the post-war period. Dr. Borgius compares it with the get-well-quick nostra, which often, thanks to effective publicity, find a market among wide circles. So long as Europe remains burdened with its post-war calamities, the European will again and again be the victim of such political mirages, which dissolve into thin air as soon as the light of criticism falls upon them. So it may continue for some time, and meanwhile the catchword of "Pan-Europe" may be succeeded by many other catchwords, which will owe their attractiveness to the yearning for peace of the peoples of Europe crushed by the World War.

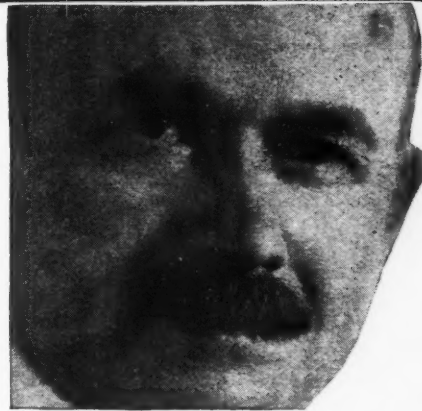
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Brief Book Reviews

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, 1912-21. Edited by H. W. C. Davis and J. R. H. Weaver. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$7.

This volume of 600 pages is a further supplement to the great British dictionary of biography containing the lives or notable persons who died in the years 1912-21. But it is interesting to note that the period of time covered extends back over a century, for among the biographies included are those of one man who was born in 1818 and of two who were born in 1819, so that the work presents a rather

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striking crosssection of the history of the British Empire during a considerable part of the nineteenth century as well as the twentieth. The numerous articles have all been prepared by writers who not only have had access to original sources of information but who in many cases also knew personally the men and women whose lives they narrate. Although Sir Sidney Lee died later than the period with which this volume deals, it is prefaced by a memoir of the man who for over forty years played so important a part in editing the main work. The memoir throws considerable light on the task involved in the preparation of the great dictionary, which owed its inception to George Smith, the publisher. Incidentally, also, it indicates the difficulties that now confront the editors of the American Dictionary of National Biography, of which the first volumes are now in preparation. A valuable feature of this supplement to the British work is an index covering the years 1901-21 in one alphabetical series.

MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM: *Critical Notes Concerning a Reactionary Philosophy.* By V. I. Lenin. (Vol. XIII of *Lenin's Collected Works.*) New York: International Publishers. \$3.

In this, the first volume to appear in English of the definitive edition of Lenin's collected works (which, when complete, will run to thirty volumes) we find the revolutionary leader in his less-known guise of philosophical critic. Written in 1908 and published in Moscow the following year, the book was the result of long and intense study of philosophy which Lenin had found it necessary to undertake on account of serious theoretical differences among his fellow-Marxists. The issue was whether the doctrine of historical materialism formulated by Marx and Engels should be revised in the light of modern metaphysical theories and the new physics which has revolutionized the older conception of matter. Lenin was entirely opposed to all such revisionism, which, in his view, in one form or another, was only repeating in a more subtle manner the errors of the idealistic philosophies which held that we can have no knowledge of the world of external objects, that mental states are the only things that can be known to exist in the universe and that faith is superior to knowledge. Lenin is a frank and thoroughgoing upholder of materialism, believing that there is a "partisan struggle in philosophy, a struggle which ultimately expresses the tendencies and ideology of classes hostile to one another in modern society." The book is indispensable for an understanding of

the history and philosophy of Russian Marxism and Leninism.

NEW GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN EUROPE. By Malbone W. Graham Jr. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$5.

Mr. Graham's comprehensive study of the political development of the Soviet Union and the Baltic States since their emergence as separate entities comes at a particularly opportune moment with the attention of the world centred as it is on the controversy between Poland and Lithuania. He makes clear the extremely complicated international situation (of which this is only one phase) brought about by the attempts of the Soviet Union to establish relations satisfactory from its point of view with the other nations of Europe. According to Mr. Graham, much can be explained by the fact that "the Baltic States are by geographical foreordination and by the tortuous turns in their history, predestined to be the mediators between the West and the East, not only in the purveying and conveying of economic goods, but also in the effort to build up a political understanding between East and West. Since the end of the World War they have become the frontiers of freedom, in the sense in which bourgeois constitutional liberty has been conceived of in the past, and the outposts of democratic national self-government." An exceedingly full and interesting collection of documents is appended marking stages in the development of these nations.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF JAPAN. By Herbert H. Gowen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$4.

This so-called "outline" history of the Japanese Empire from its mythical beginning down to the present actually compresses a large quantity of material into a compact whole. Professor Gowen seems to have a real gift for selecting the telling phrase, the seeming trifle that reveals more than pages of dry discussion. Largely because of Japan's long and unusually stubborn resistance to foreign incursion and influence, the history of the country has not received the exhaustive treatment accorded to that of the other great nations and to many is a closed book. Therefore, this eminently readable volume will be found an excellent introduction to a subject which is unfamiliar to many.

INDIA TOMORROW. By Khub Dekhta Age. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$1.50.

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author's pen before the recent appointment by the British Government of the commission which is to consider the working of the system of government and the development of representative institutions in British India, but is nevertheless of value for the study of the problems which confront British statesmanship in that great imperial domain. Mr. Age is thoughtful and fair-minded. He admits that "the steel frame of the British Empire is a phrase that rankles in the mind of India," but "it would, however, be self-deception to deny that it stands today between order and chaos in India, as it has stood from 1914 onward between the life and death of world civilization."

THE STORY OF CIVIL LIBERTY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Leon Whipple. New York: Vanguard Press. 50 cents.

Mr. Whipple examines the history of civil liberty in the United States, the origin of our ideals and guarantees of liberty, their meaning and how they have been observed, citing a great number of concrete, well-substantiated cases of violation. The picture revealed is a black one, exposing as it does some of the most inexcusable blots on the pages of American history. However, Mr. Whipple closes on a hopeful note, relying on "the divine sense of fair play in common men that will ultimately give the indestructible truth a chance to prevail."

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By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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DAWSON, WILLIAM HARBUTT. *Richard Cobden and Foreign Policy.* New York: Frank-Maurice, 1927. \$5.

An analysis of Cobden's isolationist principles and their application to present problems of foreign policy.

DELAISI, FRANCIS. *Political Myths and Economic Realities.* New York: Viking, 1927. \$4.

Attempts to show that, with the increasing economic interdependence of nations, nationalism is a myth which has ceased to be of service and has become dangerous.

ENGBERG, RUSSELL C. *Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer.* New York: Macmillan, 1927. \$2.50.

A study, organized by the Institute of Economics, of one of the most vital problems of American politics.

GRADY, HENRY F. *British War Finance.* New York: Columbia University, 1927. \$5.

A carefully documented study of war loans, war taxation and of the financial dealings with allied countries.

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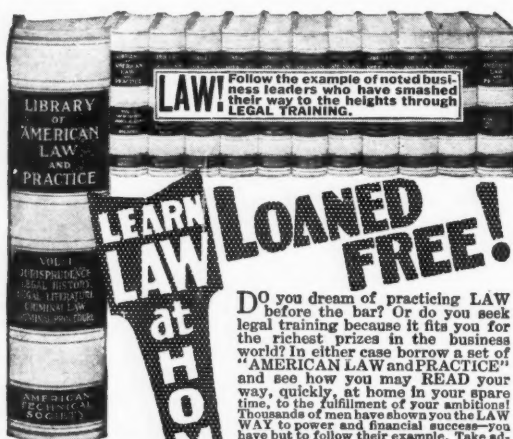
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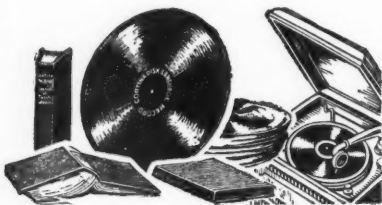


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TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

THE *New York Times* of Dec. 22, 1927, contained the following dispatch from Paris under date of Dec. 21:

A violent protest and demand for his dismissal from the rank of officer of the Legion of Honor for "an abominable article against France," published in the American magazine, *CURRENT HISTORY* (March, 1926) was directed in the French Senate today against M. Georges Demartial by Senator Josse. The article in question, said to have charged France with responsibility for the World War, was published more than eighteen months ago, Senator Josse declared, without any Government action being taken against the author. Premier Poincaré, in response, said he had read the article, but he regarded it as a question which did not concern the Senate, but rather the Legion of Honor. "I should also state that *CURRENT HISTORY* has published other articles entirely favorable to France," said the Premier. "The fact that the magazine has printed favorable articles does not excuse Demartial!" shouted M. Josse; "he is a traitor to his country and should be ejected from the Legion of Honor." M. Poincaré then explained that he had taken no action because he himself was personally attacked in the article. "I answer Demartial's charges against me with the scorn of a man confident of having done his duty," said M. Poincaré.

* * * *

A COMMENT ON THE STEED PLAN

To the Editor of *Current History*:

With regard to the Wickham Steed proposal, so admirably discussed in your January issue, may I take the liberty of making the following observations?

This plan aims to remedy what is perhaps the most outstanding and most serious weakness in the peace-making machinery of the League of Nations. It is self-evident that the United States is not bound by the obligations of the Covenant. Consequently, should war break out in violation of that document, this country, unlike the members of the League, would be under no legal duty either to prevent the conflict or to end it. Furthermore, the laws of neutrality would permit us to continue our relations with both parties. Thus we could lawfully ship supplies to a State which had made war in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Locarno.

As a consequence of these facts the sanctions of the League are tremendously weakened, since it is evident to all students of the ques-

tion that the effectiveness of these sanctions depends upon their universality of application. The failure of a single State to cooperate in isolating an aggressor nation from the rest of the world might be sufficient to render an economic blockade useless in restoring order, and a recalcitrant nation, although cut off from all communication with the States of the League, might get on perfectly well were she able to obtain arms, munitions and other supplies in the United States. It is thus apparent that an "unjust war" might be prolonged merely because the United States insisted upon her right to trade with both parties, or a "punitive expedition" converted into a general war. Moreover, it is conceivable that fear of serious economic loss if the recalcitrant nation should give its trade to America might cause the League States to hesitate in the application of the sanctions.

Seen in this light, American indifference might almost be interpreted as intervention. "It is but a logical extension of the American policy of non-interference," says D. H. Mitrany, in his book, *The Problem of International Sanctions*, "that if she refused to participate actively she should also refrain from interfering negatively in the building up of European peace."

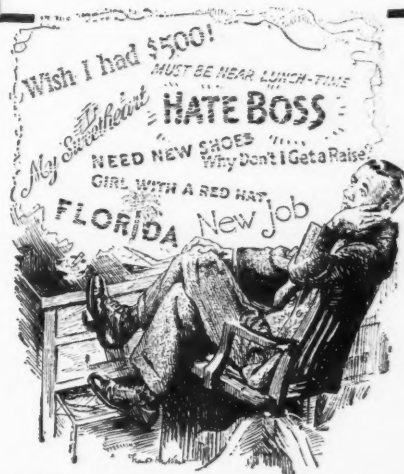
The attitude of the United States in this matter is, moreover, of the greatest importance in relation to the problem of disarmament. There can be no disarmament without security. There can be no security without effective sanctions. And there can be no effective sanctions without the cooperation of the United States.

The League sanctions constitute an international police force for the maintenance of peace and order. Between States as between individuals, the existence of a collective police force tends to prevent aggression, but it can do so only if there exists a feeling of confidence in its effectiveness. The State which is tempted to break the peace must be made to feel that because of the existence of real sanctions the risk involved in making war is too great to be incurred. So long, however, as powerful nations remain outside the League and give no assurance of their cooperation in the application of the sanctions, a feeling of confidence in their effectiveness cannot be created.

An acceptance of the Steed plan, in some form or other, would leave the United States free to decide for her own part, in each case, whether an aggression had taken place, and to act accordingly. Thus American traditions of foreign policy would be fully safeguarded, and our policy of isolation would thereby be better observed than by preserving an attitude of indifference which, because of its consequences, would almost amount to intervention.

Scatter-brained!

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Anything Worth While*



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By declaring that in case of an aggressive war the United States, after freely deciding for herself that an act of aggression had been perpetrated, will not act as the accomplice of the international lawbreaker, our Government would be giving effective support to the great principle that aggressive war is an international crime. This doctrine, just and true for the League of Nations and the Locarno Powers, is fair and right for America. "*Plaisante justice qu'une rivière borne,*" said Pascal; "*Vérité au delà des Pyrénées, erreur au delà.*"

JOHN B. WHITTON,
Professor of International Law at the Academy of International Law, The Hague;
Instructor in International Law, Princeton University.

* * *

TRIAL BY JURY

To the Editor of Current History:

I object to the suggestion by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, in the December issue, that "instead of the present unintelligent lay jury, we should have a permanent paid body of experts whose sole business it would be to deal with accused criminals by investigating the matter of their guilt or innocence and discovering the nature and causation of their criminal personality." The chief function of a jury is to answer the question, "Did the accused commit the offense?" Is not the average jury just about as capable of deciding this as a group of expert psychiatrists and sociologists? Does their technical training actually equip them more fully for the duty of weighing evidence? It seems to me that the place for technical training is in determining what punishment to apply to the accused after he is convicted. Other interesting questions might be raised as to the possibility of supplying a full quota of experts for the 1,200 courts of record that are in daily session in the United States, the expense and the method of appointment. Professor Munro of Harvard advocates a literacy requirement for jurors, the abolition of the unanimous verdict and a verdict from the decision of a majority of the jurors in civil cases. This, it seems to me, would be a real forward step and one capable of being put into practice.

JOHN STRICKLER, Attorney.
Roanoke, Va.

* * *

108,000 COPIES

The print order for this issue of CURRENT HISTORY is 108,000 copies, the largest edition in its history.

* * *

Dr. William Elliot Griffis, who contributes an article on Japan to this issue of the magazine, is in his eighty-fifth year. In 1870 he went to Japan to organize schools, and in

1871 was Superintendent of Education of the Province of Echizen; he was Professor of Physics at the Imperial University of Tokio, 1872-4; pastor of the First Reformed Church at Schenectady, N. Y., from 1877 to 1886, of the Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, 1886-93, of the First Congregational Church, Ithaca, N. Y., 1893-1903. He revisited Japan in 1927, and he presents the result of his observations in the article already mentioned.

* * *

The March issue of CURRENT HISTORY will contain a symposium on the issue raised by the possible nomination of a Roman Catholic for President. Articles representing the opposed standpoints will be supplemented by comments of leading American theologians.

* * *

In the article by Congressman Victor L. Berger in the January issue, the figure in the sentence stating that the Peace of Versailles "divided up 51,000,000 Germans among hostile neighbors" should have been 15,000,000.

* * *

Mrs. John T. Murphy, Managing Editor of the clubwoman's magazine *Information*, Santa Fé, N. M., writes: "I consider CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the most valuable periodical published today and believe that wide-awake clubwomen will be grateful for having the magazine brought to their attention."

* * *

WAR GUILT AND SINGLE TAX

To the Editor of Current History:

Your latest article on war guilt (December issue) reads rather like German propaganda fanning the embers of the great conflagration. War guilt may be viewed from three angles: the excuse, the action and the radical cause. The first, the murder of the Archduke, needs no comment. As for the second, Germany had been preparing for forty years and her people were most strenuously educated to consider themselves as the supermen who had a divine mission to enforce their Kultur on the inferior races. Their splendid army was a sharp sword which seemed a perfect instrument to attain that aim and "The Day" was greatly desired and hailed with shouts of joy. Before them rose the satanic mirage, "The kingdoms of this world and the glory of them: All shall be thine if thou wilt fall down and worship" the god of Force. Unlimited wealth, unlimited power—a temptation humanity has never yet been able to resist, though it ever brings destruction on the individual and corruption and extinction on a nation. Germany could well challenge the world, asking, "Would any other nation in my place have acted otherwise?" The radical cause of the World War was the ill-will our social system engenders

Continued on Page xxxii.

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from Educators



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W. H. P. FAUNCE,
President,
Brown University.



*"All Gone, Not One
To Be Had"*

In a town some distance away I passed a news stand one morning and noticed the neat piles of morning papers. The pile of The New York Times was twice as high as any other. An hour or two later I came back that way and asked for a Times, for I wanted another copy. All gone, not one to be had. Plenty of local papers, but no Times. The keeper of the stand said they never lasted long, no matter how many he provided.

ELMER E. BROWN,
Chancellor,
New York University.



*"The Times Has Be-
come An American
Institution"*

The New York Times has become an American institution. It assumes an intelligent interest in the world and all of its affairs on the part of its readers. It covers the broad field of world happenings in such a way that it has an important educational influence upon our whole country. It is a pleasure to me to commend those in charge of the paper for the excellent work which they are doing. **

RAY LYMAN WILBUR,
President,
Stanford University.

In many schools and colleges The New York Times is used as a textbook; it is kept on file in libraries of educational institutions as well as in thousands of financial and commercial establishments.

The New York Times

Continued from Page xxx.

by harassing and obstructing free intercourse and trade with our fellows, notably by high tariffs. The Economic Council of the League recently blamed them for preventing the recovery of Europe. Then there was the urge of expansion, a "place in the sun," a scare of overpopulation, because, although the earth was given to the children of men, a few have monopolized it. Restore to the people their heritage that all who would use land may do so by paying to the State a uniform tax on the unimproved value of the land. Our social system is the negation of Christianity, hence wars and strife. Small wonder that a spirit prevails which would "Grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,...Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!" E. KAYS.

West Maitland, N. S. W., Australia.

* * *

Mrs. Symmes B. Hutchinson of New Haven, Conn., underscores the following sentences from the article by Watson Davis in the December issue: "So-called frog babies born practically without any brain, still have the ability to whimper and draw down the corners of the mouth as if in distress at unpleasant stimulation," and "A crab, fettered by one claw and left with food just out of reach, will resignedly starve to death, but put a polyp, the crab's most deadly enemy, near by, and the prisoner crab will be so convulsed with fear that excitement racing through its nerves will send such a violent shock to the tied claw that it will come off so that the crab can scuttle off to safety," and comments: "Do not encourage such dastardly cruelty to helpless smaller fellow-creatures. No 'science' falsely so called is worth such a blot on the human escutcheon."

* * *

THE "MYSTERY" OF MONTENEGRO

To the Editor of *Current History*:

It is a pleasure to answer the questions of your correspondent, Mr. Frank B. Gardner, in the January issue regarding the "mystery" of Montenegro. The enslavement of Montenegro is so complete that no protests of the victim reach the outer world, and the nine years of silence are pointed to by Serbia as proof that the people are contented.

The truth is that nobody in Montenegro dare speak, or would be heard if he did. For nine years all who have objected to the infamous "vote" of the 200 men which ended Montenegrin liberty have been imprisoned or shot and their houses burned to the ground. In 1919-1920 between 5,000 and 6,000 homes were destroyed, one district being razed to the ground three times in succession.

And how did the Serb put himself in the

position to do all this? By betraying a friend. Montenegro fought side by side with Serbia through the World War, and King Nicholas was persuaded to allow his army to be staffed largely by Serbian officers in order to secure cooperation against the enemy. When the war was over the Serbs remained in the land, "to police it," as they explained, until the return of the King and Government. France saw to it that these remained in exile and provided the Serbs with supplies to suppress the revolution that inevitably followed. Then came days of horror, when many shot themselves rather than fall a prey to their vicious captors. The relief organizations sent from various countries have maintained the policy of keeping silence about the perpetrators of the very deeds they have been sent to remedy.

France has backed Serbia in all her actions, largely as a move against Italy, and England has supported France. The United States is too far away, and nobody else dare speak. Montenegro was not even given a hearing at Versailles, despite the assurances of Great Britain and the United States that she was to be restored (thanks to Poincaré!) Since that time France has ceased to count the money sent to Serbia to support the propaganda necessary to keep the world in ignorance. Let a newspaper anywhere speak but one word, and publisher and printer are threatened and bribed by the watchful secret agents.

"What prevents restoring Montenegro to independence?" Possibly four conditions: (1) The inability of Montenegro to help herself or to get a truthful hearing; (2) Serbian intrigue and French influence at the League of Nations and the fact that possession is nine points of the law; (3) fear of angering France on the part of Great Britain and other European nations; (4) desire to remain aloof from European affairs, no matter how urgent the injustice on the part of the United States. PRINCE MILO OF MONTENEGRO.

* * *

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Why do you publish such a violent pro-German article as that by Victor L. Berger in January *CURRENT HISTORY*? Of course, we must have freedom of expression. I was strongly opposed to the spirit that prevailed in this country during the war, when atrocities were grossly exaggerated and when no man could protest against the war passion or plead for a moderate view, without being subjected to the charge of treachery to his country's cause. No repression of that sort ought ever be tolerated in a free country. But are you not now swinging to the other extreme when you publish so bitter an attack on the

Continued on Page xxxvi.

CURRENT HISTORY

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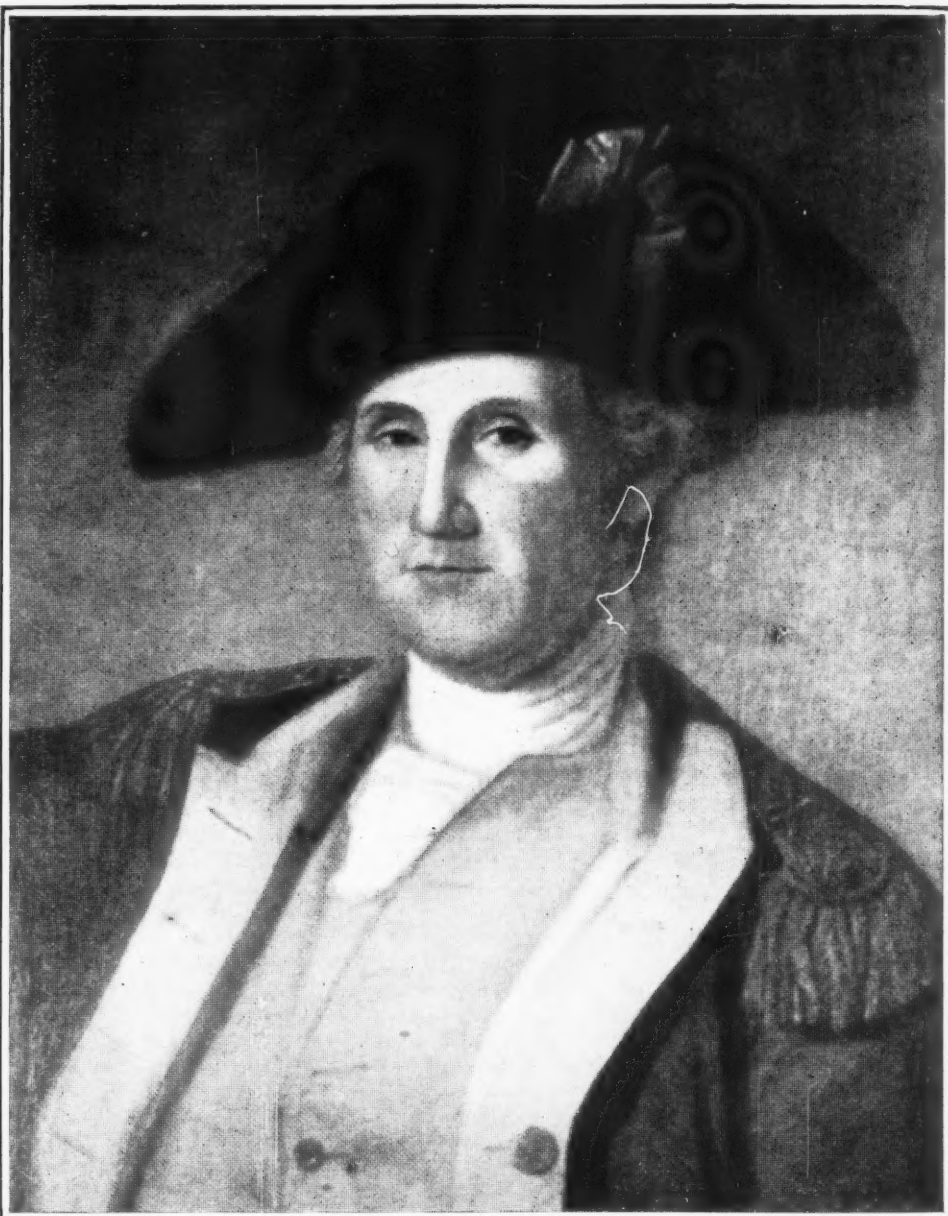
The MARCH number of **CURRENT HISTORY** will contain a symposium on the absorbing national issue raised by the possible nomination for President of a Roman Catholic. The opposition point of view is presented by a distinguished Baptist theologian and Fundamentalist, who bases his argument on the Encyclicals of the Pope and recent Catholic publications; he is answered by the Secretary of the Catholic Welfare Society, a leading authority and eminent clergyman of the American Roman Catholic Church. These two main theses were submitted to distinguished American theological scholars for comment; their replies will also appear in the March issue.

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Name

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GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1777-8

The controversy which is raging over his character as depicted by present-day historians is debated in the pages following. This picture was painted on bedticking at Valley Forge by C. W. Peale, and is now at the State Normal School, West Chester, Pa.

CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XXVII

FEBRUARY, 1928

NO. 5

Shall We Shatter the Nation's Idols In School Histories?

By WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON

MAYOR OF CHICAGO

TREASON-TAINTED school textbooks were a big issue in the Chicago mayoral campaign last Spring.

I exposed in speeches and campaign literature the vicious pro-British, un-American propaganda in the school histories which were in the Chicago public schools with the approval of Superintendent William McAndrew, who had been imported from New York by the Dever Administration through influences exerted by Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, and members of the English-Speaking Union. I showed how in many histories Revolutionary war heroes were defamed when mentioned, and how many were treated with the silence of contempt by being omitted entirely from the school histories. I revealed that League of Nations and World Court propaganda were distributed in the public schools under McAndrew; that the "Spirit of '76" and other patriotic pictures had been stripped from the school walls; that McAndrew had expressed satisfaction with this desecration in the educational magazine he edits; that McAndrew had denied the Chicago public school children the privilege of contributing their pennies and dimes to the fund for the restoration of the historic frigate Constitution ("Old Ironsides"), which collection and cause had been endorsed by President Coolidge.

To my meetings in the mayoral campaign I took a copy of Arthur Meier Schlesinger's history, *New Viewpoints in American History*, which history was the textbook in a history course conducted by the University of Chicago for Chicago school teachers, who sought advancement through extra credits in history. I read to my audiences the fol-

lowing among other passages from this infamous history, which was being taught to our school teachers to be taught by them in turn to the 550,000 school children of Chicago:

When the representatives of George V rendered homage a few years ago at the tomb of the great disloyalist and rebel of a former century, George Washington, the minds of many Americans reverted with a sense of bewilderment to the time when another King George was guiding the destinies of the British nation. The fact is that the average American still accepts without qualification or question the partisan justifications of the struggle for independence which have come down from the actual participants in the affair on the American side.

These accounts, colored by the emotions and misunderstandings of the times and designed to arouse the Colonists to a warlike pitch against the British Government, have formed the basis of the treatment in our school textbooks and have served to perpetuate judgments of the American Revolution which no fair-minded historian can accept today. (Page 160.)

I pledged the people of Chicago that if elected Mayor I would stop the teaching in the public schools that George Washington was "a rebel" and "a traitor"; that I would have recognition given to the heroes of Irish, Polish, German, Holland, Italian and other extractions who had been dropped from the histories; that I would stop the defamation of America's heroes; that I would see to it that the histories were brought back to the American viewpoint and American ideals that formerly prevailed.

This issue was accentuated and emphasized, coincident with the mayoral campaign, through the activity of a patriotic group of Chicagoans called the "Citizens' Committee for the investigation of History

Textbooks." Captain William J. Grace, who commanded a machine gun company overseas in the World War, was one of the prime movers in this organization.

Some months after I began reading the Schlesinger history to audiences and exposing other unpatriotic propaganda, publicity was given in February, 1927, in one Chicago newspaper to a report on histories by this body. This report set forth in detail the charges that I had been making against the histories in my public speeches, and concluded with a petition that the histories be barred from the public schools.

Mayor Dever also accentuated the issue. Although on April 5 the Chicago voters were to decide who should administer their affairs for the next four years, Mayor Dever forced through the City Council, on Feb. 23, 1927, a list of three new school trustees for six-year terms to succeed trustees whose terms had expired. This action had in view the purpose of assuring a Dever Board of Education for the next four years irrespective of who won in April for the four-year mayoral term. There were strong public protests voiced against this action, but the Dever-Brennan machine, entrenched in power and backed up by powerful newspaper support, secured Council confirmation for the Dever appointees.

SELECTION OF SCHOOL BOOKS

March 9 was the date set by statute for the School Board to make its annual selection of books to be used in the public schools for the ensuing year. Before that important date, as Captain Grace has testified in the McAndrew trial, the petition-report of the Grace committee was placed in the hands of Mayor Dever, Superintendent McAndrew and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, then President of the Chicago Historical Society and a pro-McAndrew school trustee. But, as Captain Grace testified, McAndrew, instead of presenting the report to the Board of Education, suppressed it. It was not before the board on March 9, when the matter of considering the books for the ensuing year came before the board, and the board on recommendation of Superintendent McAndrew again included in the list of books for the Chicago public schools the histories which I had denounced, which the Citizens' Committee had denounced. The Citizens' Committee did not get the hearing on their report which they had requested for some date in advance of the annual book-adoption action of the board.

On March 18, McAndrew, although he still was suppressing the Grace report, addressed a communication to the board in which he defended the histories complained of, and declared that the Citizens' Committee's report (which the board had not seen) was without merit. Here is one quotation from Superintendent McAndrew's communication to the board of March 18: "Our Chicago course in history is not at fault in any of the points alleged." The Superintendent induced certain persons to sign the communication with him.

So with the history issue clear—with Mayor Dever and Superintendent William McAndrew standing by the unpatriotic histories which I, members of the Grace Committee and others publicly denounced—the Mayorality election came on April 5. I was elected by a plurality of 83,000. I proceeded to carry out the pledges I had made to the people, but this was the situation: A new Mayor elected by the people, but the Board of Education in control of trustees appointed by the defeated Mayor, and Superintendent McAndrew, with term unexpired, supporting the anti-American histories.

The fight went on. On May 3 the Grace Patriotic Committee finally was given a hearing by the School Administration Committee of the Board of Education, the hearing they had so diligently sought for on a date before the annual adoption of textbooks on March 9. The feature of that meeting of May 3 was this statement by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, pro-McAndrew trustee (I quote from the stenographic transcript):

I cannot get away from the idea that after all it was the great Anglo-Saxon race that were the founders of it (our country) and were connected with and were the guides and took the most active part and the largest part in the large development of this country.

On May 28 there was another meeting, this time at the Chicago Historical Society. There were present three university professors, several school teachers, Superintendent McAndrew, Dr. Schmidt and Captain Grace. Superintendent McAndrew called the meeting to order, and summoned Dr. Schmidt to the chair. The history professors gave caustic attention to "amateur historians," referring to the patriotic and highly educated members of the Grace Committee; and generally all speakers, save Captain Grace, gave approval to the histories in the schools. Captain Grace stated that it was the contention of his committee that American school children were entitled to have American history written by Amer-

icans from the American viewpoint. The school teachers did not say anything. With reference to them Attorney Grace, in his testimony in the McAndrew trial, made this significant comment: "A dozen of the teachers came up afterward and said to me: 'We believe you are right; of course, you are right! But what can we do, what can we do, the way things are!'" I cite all this to show that McAndrew and his chief supporter, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, stood by the unpatriotic histories after their faults had been pointed out by me in hundreds of speeches and by the Grace Committee; that both before and after election they stood by the pro-British books.

But "things" did not stay as they were. Thanks to one Dever-appointed trustee who resigned, and to two Dever-appointed trustees who changed their positions with reference to McAndrew, my policies as endorsed by the people at the Mayoral election finally became last Summer the policies of a majority of the School Board. Then by majority vote Superintendent McAndrew was suspended; then started, in accordance with the statutes of Illinois, the McAndrew trial, now of international fame, before the Chicago School Board. The present line-up, as indicated by various test votes since the trial started, is as follows:

For McAndrew and Unpatriotic Histories—Trustees, Otto L. Schmidt, Walter J. Raymer, Helen Hefferan, James Mullenbach—Total, 4.

Against McAndrew and Against Unpatriotic Histories—Trustees, J. Lewis Coath, Theophilus Schmid, John A. English, Oscar Durante, James A. Hemingway, Walter Brandenburg—Total, 6.

In Doubt—Trustee, Charles J. Vopicka—Total, 1.

Sworn testimony in the McAndrew trial has corroborated all that I charged in the

Mayoral campaign; revealed even more than I had charged. The truth of my charges that American school histories have been falsified and denatured, through pro-British influences, to the end that our children may be denationalized and fitted for Anglo-American union, has been shown with

startling clearness in text books submitted in evidence.

Three of them present John Hancock as a "smuggler" only, with not one word of his great public service. (Everett Barnes: *Short American History*, Vol. II, p. 9; McLaughlin and Van Tyne: *History of the United States*, 1919, pp. 140, 153.)

Samuel Adams fares little better. West calls him "the first American political boss," and Hart calls him "a shrewd, hardheaded politician." (p. 125.)

Hart (151), Muzey (162) and McLaughlin and Van Tyne (238), all teach that Alexander Hamilton is said to have once exclaimed:

"The people, sir, is a great beast!"

Six proclaim this to have been a popular toast: "Thomas Jefferson: May he receive from his fellow citizens the reward of his merit—a halter." (McLaughlin and Van Tyne, p. 249.)

Hart teaches that Jefferson was looked upon by Federalists as "an atheist, a liar and a demagogue." (*School History of the United States*, 1920, p. 190.)

Patrick Henry is set forth by McLaughlin and Van Tyne to our children as "a gay, unprosperous and unknown country lawyer." (p. 141.)

By Ward it is taught of Washington:

If you had called him an "American" he would have thought you were using a kind of nickname. He was proud of being an Englishman. (Burke's Speech on Conciliation, p. 10.)

One has given a half-page of praise to



© Chambers, Chicago

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON

Benedict Arnold. In the same book (Everett Barnes's) it is taught that

The Continental Congress was a shameful scene of petty bickerings and schemings among selfish, unworthy, shortsighted, narrow-minded, office-seeking and office-trading plotters (p. 34).

"We can afford now to laugh at our forefathers," McLaughlin and Van Tyne teach (p. 262).

The righteousness of the American Revolution is questioned in a dozen Anglicized history text books. Professor Muzzey, for instance, teaches that it was "a debatable question whether the abuses of the King's Ministers justified armed resistance." (p. 115.)

Professor Hart is teaching in one of his text books:

To this day it is not easy to see why the Colonists felt so dissatisfied. They professed, and doubtless felt, the warmest attachment to the King, whom God and Parliament had provided for them. (New American History, 1916, p. 120.)

Professor Ward's text teaches:

As long as there lurks in the back of the American consciousness a suspicion of English tyranny in 1775, so long will misunderstanding prevent the English-speaking nations from working in accord to develop Anglo-Saxon freedom. (Preface.)

The Anglicized school histories, submitted in evidence in the McAndrew trial, bristle with fulsome laudation of British democracy, British ideals, British institutions and British achievements, those of America being made to appear as poor imitations. Children in the schools are taught in these texts that "our country's history has been hitherto distorted through unthinking adherence to traditional prejudices" (Guitteau: *Our United States*, 1919, preface), but is now to be "set right" through "*newer tendencies in historical writing*" (Muzzey, editorial preface); through "scientific exactness of higher historical scholarship" and "emotions of new-found gratitude to England." (Ward, Introduction.)

PERNICIOUS TEACHINGS

False and pernicious teachings run through the Anglicized textbooks, from beginning to end, such as follow in West's *History of the American People*:

Most of the settlers were servants, and a rather worthless lot. (p. 67.)

They were a bad lot, with the vices of an irresponsible, untrained, hopeless class * * * cheats and drunkards from this class * * * led to crime or suicide. (p. 72.)

Democracy * * * the meanest and worst form of government. (p. 80.)

Many of them paid themselves indirectly for their devotion to public service by what would today be called graft. (p. 132.)

Pettiness and ignorance on the part of the Colonists. (p. 141.)

Wolfe had only 700 Americans, whom he described as "the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs * * * such rascals are an encumbrance to an army." (p. 182.)

Washington declared that he would have been wholly helpless for a long time had he not had under his command a small troop of English soldiers. (P. 183.)

Those who took part in the Stamp Act protests, the Boston Tea Party, the Boston Massacre and the capture of the Gaspee, are referred to as "mobs." (West, 201, 206; Muzzey, 97; McLaughlin and Van Tyne, 146.)

The American Revolution, according to West (p. 178), was a calamity which "split the English-speaking race." The only hope Professor West has for America he states thus: "Now, after a century and a half the two great divisions of the English-speaking race are coming together once more in sympathetic friendship, again to double their influence." (p. 243.)

Among all the "Anglo-American professors of history" Dr. David S. Muzzey appears to rank first as scandal-monger and mud-slinger. His textbook, *American History* (1925), is used in more Chicago high schools than all other history texts combined. On page 170 he says:

George Washington was reviled (by the press) in language fit to characterize a Nero. "Tyrant," "dictator" and "despot" were some of the epithets hurled at him. He was called the "step-father of his country," while some one or other is said to have said that "the day was hailed with joy by the Republican press when this imposter should be 'hurled from his throne.'"

Under the pretense of "promoting more friendly relations" and "mutual understanding" with Great Britain, our school children are now taught not the consecrated maxim, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," but, quite to the contrary, that "In England's taxation of the colonies there was no injustice or oppression" (A. C. McLaughlin: *History of the American Nation*, p. 152), and that the real reason independence was sought was that after England had at great cost crushed out autocracy in the Western Hemisphere, the colonists no longer needed the protection of the mother country, and were unwilling to pay their fair share of the costs incurred.

Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of liberty," is of no consequence in these new histories, nor is the Mutiny Act, the Stamp Act, or

the Boston Massacre. The martyrdom of Nathan Hale, whose only regret on the British scaffold was that he had but one life to lose for his country, is in all of them ignored. In most of them there is no mention of Joseph Warren, Ethan Allen, Anthony Wayne, Paul Revere, Lolly Pitcher, Betsy Ross, General Herkimer, General Schuyler, Von Steuben, De Kalb, Kosciuszko, Pulaski, John Stark or Commodore Barry. Such important battles as Bunker Hill, Bennington, Oriskany and King's Mountain are omitted. The decisive victories of Ticonderoga, Saratoga, New Orleans and the capture of the Serapis, are belittled. The inspiring slogans, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," "Don't give up the ship," and "I've not yet begun to fight," are omitted or discredited.

PRO-BRITISH ORGANIZATIONS

The Carnegie Foundation, Rhodes Scholarship Fund, English-speaking Union, Interdependence Day Association, and other pro-British and pacifist propaganda organizations have been shown to have direct connection with these alterations, their own officials having written several of the Anglicized textbooks. The flood of evidence in the McAndrew trial, to which no answer has been offered because it is unanswerable, overwhelmingly proves that organized foreign influences pervade the colleges and public schools of our country, and have caused these authors to rewrite American school history from the British standpoint.

Pending the ousting of McAndrew and the restoration of real American histories to the public schools, I wrote the Board of Education on Nov. 22, to notify history teachers to give oral instruction with reference to the lives and achievements of the many heroes of many nationalities, now denied their proper places in the school histories. Among these "lost heroes" which I urged the teachers should bring back into the light are the following:

CASIMIR PULASKI and TADEUSZ ANDRZEJA BONAWENTURA KOSCIUSZKO, Polish noblemen who made magnificent records in the American Revolution, the former giving up his life in the cause of freedom, but their deeds have been wiped out of Anglicized school history.

Baron VON STEUBEN and JOHANN DE KALB, Germans, who played glorious parts in the Revolution, the former being George Washington's chief drill master, bringing to the recruits the training and experience of the army of Frederick the Great. DE KALB, serving with the French troops, was mortally wounded at Camden.

General RICHARD MONTGOMERY, in chief command of the Northern Army, and these other Irishmen:

General HENRY KNOX, who was the head of Washington's artillery; Commodore JOHN BARRY, brilliant sea fighter, first American Commodore and Washington's first head of the United States Navy; General DANIEL MORGAN, leader of Washington's infantry; General STEPHEN MOYLAN, commander of his cavalry; General EDWARD HAND, his Adjutant General; General JOSEPH REED, his secretary; JOHN SULLIVAN, ANTHONY WAYNE, JOHN STARK and WILLIAM IRVINE whom Washington made Generals—all of these fare sadly at the hands of English sympathizing histories now in the public schools. For instance, Historian Hart gives sole credit for the attack on Quebec to Benedict Arnold, with no mention at all of General MONTGOMERY, who commanded and who lost his life there.

Dutch heroes and pioneers, including General PHILIP SCHUYLER, who played leading parts in revolutionary days in Pennsylvania and New York; Swedish heroes and founders who played similar rôles in New Jersey and Delaware, and French heroes of Carolina.

NATHAN HALE, born in America and educated at Yale, who, just before being hanged by the British, said that he regretted he had but one life to give to his country. Also General ABNER CLARK, George F. Harding's heroic ancestor, should be put back in the histories.

In this letter of Nov. 22 to the Board of Education I called attention to another matter as follows:

I am informed that the University of Chicago man, Howard C. Hill, who has been teaching the unpatriotic Schlesinger history to the Chicago school teachers, is the same Hill who now appears as the sole adviser of the committee which has put in the junior high schools the course of study in history and other "social studies." If, in fact, he is the same man, I recommend that he be eliminated from the Chicago public school situation at once. While I am Mayor I do not propose to have the school children taught that George Washington was a rebel and a traitor.

Unable to answer the charges in the McAndrew trial, the unpatriotic pack, perniciously busy in Chicago as elsewhere, resorted to falsehood. They broadcasted the story that I intended to burn up books in the library. Sounding this false alarm of fire, they tried to divert attention to the lake front to see a library fire. Beaten and silenced in the forum of reason, they resorted to lies and ridicule, featuring and headlining "the library fire" and "Bill Thompson's private war with the King of England." In the two letters I wrote to the Chicago Library Board, last Fall, the only letters I have written to this body since my election last April as Mayor, I said:

Please understand that I am not officially concerned in what books are on the library shelves, and I rejoice in the fact that we live in a day of free speech and free press, but it becomes an official matter and one of public concern when public officials, like

our librarians and library trustees, suggest the reading of particular books; put them in reading courses and use their official positions and the influence and edifices of the public library system to circulate and impress certain of the teachings of such books.

TRUTH ABOUT LIBRARY ISSUE

In addition to reiterating the foregoing statement in my second letter of Nov. 4 to the Library Board, I wrote also in that second letter:

It is not to the texts of library books that I take exception but to the teaching of certain texts.

A library is "a depository of human thought." It might, too, be termed a reservoir of human thought contributed by men and women, great and near great, of many climes through the centuries of civilization.

No man in America today has fought harder, and at such sacrifice, as I have fought for the free speech and free press guaranteed by our Constitution. It is far from my mind and my ideals to censor the hundreds of thousands of books on the library shelves, and you know it, but I do step in when, under official sanction, propaganda pipe lines are led out of that reservoir of knowledge to poison the minds of American citizens.

What I objected to and protested against in the Library case, were certain booklets in a "reading course" prepared by the American Library Association and circulated with the official sanction and approval of our own Public Library, particularly one written by Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton. Frederick Bausman, distinguished author and former justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, found this pamphlet in the Seattle Library early in 1927 and its contents so shocked him that he wrote for *The American Mercury* a magazine article protesting against this and similar propaganda. This article was generally commended by patriotic citizens throughout America. Judge Bausman was one of the many distinguished witnesses who took the stand in the case against McAndrew and gave support to my charges of anti-American propaganda in schools and library teaching courses in Chicago and in the country generally. Among such witnesses were: Charles Edward Russell, Charles Grant Miller and Frederick F. Schrader.

As I said in my letter of Nov. 4 to the Library Board, I was amazed to find that this Gibbons anti-American booklet was still part of the Chicago Library official reading course—evidence to my mind that, even though the Canadian President no longer was at the head of the American Library Association, pro-British, anti-American propaganda continued to percolate through

the libraries of Chicago and other cities. I pointed out other pro-British booklets in this American Library reading course that were being circulated through the Chicago Library and the libraries of nearly all cities in America, and, incidentally, I pointed out that the Chicago Public Library trustees were violating the law by selling these booklets. So much for the Chicago Library case. So much for the details of the exposures in the McAndrew histories case.

Those who cannot answer and have not answered in the forum of reason of the Chicago School Board trial have been seeking to ridicule and discredit my efforts to drive out anti-American propaganda from public teaching courses in Chicago, in accordance with the pledge I made to the people, in accordance with the mandate from the people which came in the Chicago mayoral election at which 1,000,000 men and women cast ballots. The campaign of misrepresentation, ridicule and abuse which has been waged against me, in America as well as abroad, should be a matter of serious concern to all who hold sacred the ideals and institutions of our Government. Why this opposition? Why this rage against an executive of a great American city who is but doing his plain duty? Do foreign Powers plot to do by propaganda, circulated through innocent or unscrupulous agents in this country, what they have been unable to do by armed force? Have some persons the motive and hope of stupendous rewards through the cancellation of foreign war debts? Is an inferior navy the goal sought? Is love for England greater with some than love for America? What is there for Americans to ridicule in the slogan "America First"? Is a man to be laughed at because he defends the name and fame of George Washington? Are we nearing a day (which some of the disloyal historians desire) to laugh at the founders of our nation?

ATTITUDE OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS

Some critics scoff and say: "What's the School Board fight all about?" They know, but they do not want to admit they know. The people of Chicago know and understand. The Poles have held a great mass meeting, at which they indignantly protested against the dropping of the names of Kosciuszko and Pulaski from the school histories. Citizens of German and Irish extraction in mass meetings in Chicago and elsewhere have protested against the wrongs done heroes of those nationalities. Chicago citizens of Dutch descent have met and passed resolutions tendering me support

and protesting because there has been eliminated from the school histories credit due to Holland in the cause of democracy and freedom and credit due to Dutch pioneers in America. Chicago citizens of Italian extraction have passed resolutions protesting against the teaching that "the spirit and institutions of our country are English"; declaring that the proposed English-speaking Union would "crowd to the background American citizens of other nationality origins"; pointing out that, because of the suspicion in Central and South America that we are tying up with England, our country has lost much of the friendship and confidence the Latin people of those countries formerly entertained for us. Other nationality groups have passed, or are now preparing to pass, similar resolutions. The Italians and others in their resolutions enthusiastically concur in the statement I made in my first letter last Fall to the Library Board:

In truth, our national greatness was achieved, not by one but by many nationalities, and the present surpassing position of our country is due to the fact that here in America we have brought to the national surface the best in ideas and ideals of all nationalities, and the mingling of many strains has produced the highest type of civilization and the highest level of attainments in the world's history.

The Chicago case is not isolated. School books here are used in other cities. Some cities have thrown out propaganda-distorted books; most of them have not. The histories that the big cities use go to the small cities and to the crossroad schoolhouses of the

country districts. So this matter of treason-tainted histories is not a Chicago local situation; it goes to the whole nation. The reading courses of the American Library Association are circulated in libraries generally throughout America. What Judge Bausman found in the Seattle Public Library, I found in the Chicago Public Library. What we here in Chicago have found in our perverted school histories, people of other cities have found or are finding in their histories. This is not the case of Thompson versus McAndrew. It is the case of patriotic Americans everywhere against those who defame our national heroes and make assaults on our national institutions.

The Christian church rests upon the divinity of Christ. To attack that is to assail the spiritual life of the Christian church. American patriotism rests upon the nobility of George Washington, father and founder of the nation, and the righteousness of the cause of freedom and independence that he led. Take that away and the patriotic structure falls, leaving but the shell of commercialism. The nobility of heroes, with belief in their cause and their ideals, is to the nation, what divinity is to religion. Freedom is in peril if the people turn from the ideals of the founders, because out of those ideals came the nation. Patriotism lives by the light of her heroes. Nations have their shrines of patriotism, as churches have their altars of divinity. The patriotic must guard the one, as the devout protect the other. Drop the heroes from the country's histories, and you take the stars out of the firmament of patriotism.

Plea for Frankness in Writing History

By RUPERT HUGHES

NOVELIST AND AUTHOR OF A NEW BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

CHICAGO is a noble city in which many just and wise and honorable people are doing superb things for the nation and mankind. But their work is quiet and attracts none of the world-wide attention that other Chicagoans have won—the gunmen, for instance. These picturesque criminals have a way of dashing through the streets in automobiles and spraying whole neighborhoods with machine-gun fire, shattering windows, churches, police stations and innocent bystanders with gay impartiality. In a somewhat similar fashion the Mayor and his disciples have been raiding the hitherto placid avenues of education.

With magnificent courage they have dared the King of England to put his nose within tweeking-reach and banished him forever from the privileges of the city. They have also charged along the whole line of histories and historians with their guns spitting such missiles as "traitor," "treason," "treason-tainted," "unpatriotic," "perverted," "British-bought," "propaganda," "bribery" and the like. Hardly one reputable American historian has failed to be potted. Obscure burrowers in dusty libraries, shy and bespectacled scholars, delvers into manuscripts and gentle purveyors of information to school children

have suddenly found themselves in the headlines undergoing publicity and abuse such as was hitherto reserved for murderers, moving-picture celebrities, prizefighters, politicians and malefactors or correspondents of great wealth. There must be something astoundingly dramatic when such an experience befalls a scholar. It shows that nobody is safe from everybody. And it behooves the most respectable and the most retired and retiring citizens to be careful how they scorn the victims of today's headlines lest they themselves be sent skyhigh into tomorrow's.

To accuse a historian of writing propaganda of any sort is to attack his scientific integrity. It is devastating when practically every American historian is tossed up in the blanket indictment of Mayor Thompson, who charges that "American school histories have been falsified and denatured, through pro-British influences, to the end that our children may be denationalized." He reiterates the accusation that most of our schoolbooks are "treason-tainted." "Treason" is a strong noun, and "treason-tainted" is a fierce epithet. Benedict Arnold was accused of less than our historians. All that Arnold did was to arrange to sell one fort and fail to deliver it. For this he has been placed alongside Judas Iscariot. But Mayor Thompson accuses American historians of a treason far more vile, more dangerous and of infinitely wider influence. In return for British bribes, he says, they have conspired to poison the minds of the children, our future citizens, so that they will despise their country, abhor the founders of it, and fall an easy prey to the infamous project of an Anglo-Saxon alliance. If this were true, the historians he cites by name and text would deserve a far higher hanging than Benedict Arnold would have had if we could have caught him. Mayor Thompson is almost criminally mild when he merely calls for the expulsion of certain treason-tainted teachers and the rejection of certain treacherous volumes. He should demand the imprisonment, trial and death of the guilty. If his charges are untrue, he has committed libel for which no monetary compensation would be sufficient.

Professor David Saville Muzzey has actually instituted suit for \$100,000 damages against one of the Mayor's agents. This is none too much payment for such a fearful charge. Dr. Muzzey is a direct descendant of one of the eight men whose life's blood made sacred the battlefield of Lexington. Another ancestor of his owned the very ground on which that immortal

skirmish was fought. To bedaub a man of such American ancestry with unfounded accusations of treason, of selling his country for British gold, of trying to pervert the minds of young America with lying heresies—that would be an intolerable crime, but for one thing: Hardly anybody in America takes the charge seriously, except certain fanatics who really take nothing "seriously," though they take everything fanatically. Hardly anybody in America believes that the charge is made seriously, with no ulterior purpose. The reaction of the American people to the Thompsoniad is reassuring, for if the public were convinced of the charges, there would be lynching bees for the historians and bonfires of books everywhere. Instead of that the nation and the world have been moved to hilarity.

Mayor Thompson's partisans have welched on their promises to burn books on the lake front; they have called off their invasion of the public library; they have found themselves suddenly thrown on the defensive. Mayor Thompson says: "I pledged the people of Chicago that if elected Mayor I would stop the teaching in the public schools that George Washington was a rebel and a traitor." It is fine to see him so conscientious about his pledges, but he might as well have pledged himself to stop the heresy that $2+2=4$.

WASHINGTON AS REBEL

If George Washington was not a rebel against his King and a traitor to his English rulers, then he was nothing at all. It has usually been thought one of his greatest proofs of courage that he defied his royal master, led troops against the royal troops and risked his neck for the cause he believed in. When Boston disobeyed the King and was occupied by British soldiers and blockaded by British ships, Washington made the magnificent declaration in the Virginia convention (illegally convened by the members of the dismissed Assembly): "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." If that was not the speech of a rebel and a traitor, then there never was a rebel or a traitor. It was impossible that America should ever throw off the subjection to British rule unless somebody took on himself the odium and the peril of playing rebel and traitor to the British King.

A near neighbor of Mayor Thompson's is Mr. Voliva, and he has pledged himself to see that nobody in his bailiwick shall teach that the earth is round. He ridicules the thought and reviles the geographers with

as much vigor and perhaps even more sincerity than Mayor Thompson displayed in reviling the historians. But Mr. Voliva manages only a small community. Mayor Thompson is committed to the principle that the teaching of history in the next to the largest city in America shall be a matter for politicians to stuff into their platforms. He argues that, since he made a ludicrous pledge and subsequently rolled up a plurality of 83,000 in a municipal election, therefore 550,000 school children of Chicago are to be taught certain things that they would not have been taught if the election had gone the other way. Picturesque as they may be to historians of the present day, what have Mayor Thompson's pledges or his pluralities to do with past history? He seems to act upon an amazing tragic-comic conception of history as material for shifting political opinion and a test of character. If you believe such and such a document, you are a traitor; if you believe such and such a legend, you are a patriot. If you repeat what Washington, Adams or Jefferson actually wrote, you are treason-tainted, but you are a good citizen so long as you stick to Parson Weems.

Ours is perhaps the only nation where any demand exists for pretending that all the prominent men of the past were paragons of godlike wisdom and purity. Only recently has a school of historians arisen whose one test of a statement is its truthfulness. Only of late has scientific honesty been attempted in the discussion of our national history. The result has been a great downfall of idols and a great uplifting of men. But surely we do not in 1928 want to worship idols or teach our children idolatry. The whole question boils down to this: Shall we teach truth or lies? Shall we tell both sides of great disputes or only one? Shall we try to find out facts and teach them or shall we go on promulgating silly fables? Shall we try to breed prigs, hypocrites and cads in the name of patriotism, or shall we give to our young the benefits of wisdom, scholarship and impartiality? Shall we lift education out of politics or leave it to the mercy of party ferocity? Shall we try to put history alongside arithmetic, geography, astronomy, geology, biology, chemistry and physics, or shall we have it written fresh every campaign by the Aldermen and the bosses? Shall we encourage gentlemen desirous of winning as many votes as possible to plaster with slander scholars whose one purpose is to recite the facts of the past for the education and guidance of the present and the future?

Surely our nation has not done so shamefully in its short life that the truth is to be feared. Surely we cannot uphold its great traditions if we belie them and write fairy stories instead of histories about their origins and the evolution of the Republic. Mayor Thompson says that it is "unpatriotic," it is "anti-American," it is "treason-tainted" to publish the truth about our forefathers and their friends and enemies. That is far more dangerous doctrine than anything he cites from the honorable scholars whom he so rashly maligns. Surely he never realized what he was saying when he let the ecstasies of public speaking carry him away. Looking out upon a sea of faces, many of them foreign, most of them passionate, he let his own ignorance of history sweep him out of his depth. He probably wishes he had never brought up the subject, for he has caught hold of a live wire that he cannot let go. He is making the best of it, but it is a sorry best. He has committed himself to the denunciation of seekers after truth and to the inflaming of racial prejudices and jingoistic frenzies. There can be no permanent or worth-while success in such persecution or in such applause as he receives from certain factions. To a man who falls off a cliff, the force of gravity is an odious thing, but it is irresistible. To a man maligning accurate historians, facts, records, manuscripts, dates, documents are loathsome things, but they will bury him in the end.

SCHLESINGER'S WORK

In his article for *CURRENT HISTORY* the Mayor makes a number of quotations from histories. He begins with one from that splendid work, *New Viewpoints in American History*, by Arthur Meier Schlesinger, who was born in Ohio, educated in America, has always taught in America, and is one of the most honest and scientific of historians, basing all his work on profound research. Mayor Thompson quotes with animus only so much as he wants to quote, and, while accusing Schlesinger of propaganda, omits to quote these words from the very same page: "Our conception of patriotism is undergoing revision, for Germany has taught us the danger of teaching propaganda in the guise of history; and the teacher and writer of history today is charged with the responsibility of being as scrupulously fair to other nations as to the United States in dealing with the subject matter of American history." On the very next page Schlesinger says: "The American Revolution, as we now know it to have been,

is infinitely more interesting and human, and provocative of patriotism, than the make-believe Revolution handed down by tradition."

ENEMIES OF HISTORICAL TRUTH

Mayor Thompson, like many other enemies of fair and impartial scholarship, cannot believe that a man can love his country and yet tell the truth about it; he cannot even permit the forefathers whom he praises to be heard or quoted. He professes reverence for the builders of the nation, yet insults the historian who goes to these builders for his account of the actual processes of building this nation. He objects to the designation of John Hancock as a "smuggler," and of Samuel Adams as "the first American political boss." But these are facts and it is dishonest to suppress them. Besides, it is odd that Mayor Thompson, of all people, should imply that the term "political boss" implies a lack of merit or patriotism. He should realize and all living politicians should realize that the historians who represent dead statesmen as politicians when alive are the truest friends of the living politicians of our day, since they show that our forefathers also met opposition, suspicion and abuse, and were in perplexity and disagreement about nearly every policy. He denounces four historians for quoting Alexander Hamilton's remark, "The people, sir, is a great beast." But Alexander Hamilton also said, "The House of Lords is a noble institution * * * The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right * * * you cannot have a good executive upon a democratic plan." Hamilton believed in a President for life with more power than a king, and he called the Constitution "a frail and worthless fabric." He fought for it only because it was better than anarchy. He said ferocious things about many of the forefathers, and they said blood-curdling things about him. He grew so wroth at Washington once that he cut the great man dead. He once said that he had been no friend of Washington's for three years.

What is Mayor Thompson going to do about it? It is too late for him to throttle Hamilton and the others. Would he like to suppress Hamilton's utterances, and Jefferson's, Washington's, Adams's, Madison's and the others' as well as Schlesinger and Muzzey and Van Tyne? Does he think it inadvisable to allow the young people of Chicago to read the works of the forefathers lest they cease to be patriots? Are we to define patriotism as an emotion based solely

on fables and ignorance? These historians whom the Mayor reviles offend him only because they go back to the fathers themselves and to their authentic records. Has our country so shameful a past that we dare not uncover it? On a moment's reflection we realize that it is not the historians but Mayor Thompson who slanders the builders of the nation. What a curious taradiddle it is to maintain both that our forefathers were saints and that it is treason to quote their words. No great man ever endured viler abuse than Thomas Jefferson. He was generally labeled "atheist and demagogue." Why suppress the vividness of those contemporary slanders? Unless we describe the obstacles and the opposition overcome by our heroes, how shall we show their heroism? To call Patrick Henry "a gay, unprosperous and unknown country lawyer" is but to state the facts, and it rather enhances than diminishes his prestige. Shall we no longer call Abe Lincoln a "rail splitter"?

WASHINGTON'S ENGLISH SENTIMENT

That the pre-Revolutionary Washington was proud of being an Englishman is absolutely certain. We have a letter of his dated Oct. 9, 1774, wherein he says of independence, "no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America." If it is treason to quote that, how can we show his evolution into the great patriot who could take up arms against his King and fight for independence at the head of thirteen quarrelsome Colonies? How can we feel the glory of the great day when he could write: "I have labored, ever since I have been in the Service, to discourage all kinds of local attachments and distinctions of country, denominating the whole by the greater name of *American*, but I have found it impossible to overcome prejudices." He wrote that on Dec. 20, 1776, after he had been in command for a year and a half, and just six days before he won the Battle of Trenton.

Mayor Thompson has honored me by including me in his sweeping denunciations, and thereby put me in far more excellent company than I deserve. Because of my compilation of Washington's actual writings and deeds, Mayor Thompson is quoted as dubbing me "a cheap skate looking for publicity." He is quoted by the press as going so far as to call me "a damned liar." He admitted when questioned that he had not read my book. He has indeed been quoted as boasting that he does not read books. He merely denounces them on the carefully

selected reports of others. I have no complaint to make of his abuse. It warms me. It would, indeed, be almost fatal to the reputation of any historical writer to receive a kind word from Mayor Thompson, since his ideals are the very opposite of the ideals of any truth-seeking scholar.

In his catalogue of complaints against American historians, Mayor Thompson objects to one who "has given a half-page of praise to Benedict Arnold." But Washington praised Arnold in the highest terms, and nobody has ever denied his military genius and valor, as nobody, not even the British, has defended his treason. The complaints of the bad quality and bickerings of the Continental Congress are so multitudinous among the forefathers that no truthful historians can omit to mention them even though Mayor Thompson considers it treasonable. The calm consideration of the grievances that led to the Revolution, and the frank presentation of the inconsistencies and controversies among the Colonies and the leaders is essential to any intelligent treatment of them. Only the grossest and most obstinate ignorance can urge their suppression. To represent the Revolution as the uprising of a nation of unified saints against unified devils is too silly even for school children's fodder. Mayor Thompson is infuriated by the "fulsome laudation of British democracy, British ideals, British institutions and British achievements." But since our forefathers gave them all praise, since our nation is essentially an offshoot of the British, why not say so? As late as 1775 in front of Boston General Washington wrote to General Gage that the whole purpose of the rebellion was "to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors." He believed in the British Constitution and insisted that he asked for nothing better than a fair interpretation of it for the Englishmen of the Colonies. Is Mayor Thompson willing to call Washington a British propagandist treason-tainted?

Under the heading "False and Pernicious Teachings" the Mayor lists seven excerpts that are absolutely true and hence cannot be pernicious. He objects to such things as the fact that certain of the early settlers were indentured servants, that graft existed, that Wolfe abused the Colonial soldiers and that "mobs" occasionally raged. But even a Mayor of Chicago cannot turn time back and alter history. As for graft, Washington himself raged against the "dirty, mercenary spirit" of his people. I am not familiar with Professor West's writings,

but I cannot feel that he has been fairly quoted. If Professor West believes, as the Mayor indicates, that it was a calamity that the Americans split away from England, I can only say that I disagree with him heartily. But that gives me no right to denounce him or burn his books. This is a free country, theoretically, and he has as good a right to his opinion as I have to mine. Any effort of mine to suppress the opinion of a scholar or of anybody else would be a treason against the basic principles of freedom and equality. Mayor Thompson thinks that the ulterior purpose of these historians is to make us ripe for an Anglo-Saxon union. Just how that scheme is to be helped by defaming all our forefathers he never quite explains. He has much to say, however, of the neglect shown toward heroes of foreign birth or origin. And he gives a confused list of names. But one may feel sure that if, and where, they have been ignored, the sole reason must have been a lack of space; for it would be impossible to name all the brave and helpful soldiers in the war without turning history into a mere roster. It is impossible also in reasonable space to answer all of Mayor Thompson's efforts to prove that there exists in Chicago "propaganda pipe lines * * * to poison the minds of American citizens."

The Mayor gives Professor Muzzey pre-eminence as "scandal-monger and mud-slinger" and quotes his quotation of the abuse Washington endured. But how is one to describe Washington with sympathy or reality if one suppresses the mud-slinging he was subjected to? It is true beyond all denial that poor Washington was called such names and that he almost frothed at the mouth with helpless rage. Dr. Muzzey has not listed a tenth of the frightful charges made against Washington by his fellow-citizens. He was even accused of embezzling public funds. He was threatened with lynching by mobs while he was President. And for what did they want to lynch him? If Mayor Thompson would consent to read a book, he could find John Adams describing how "ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia, day after day, threatened to drag Washington out of his house." This was in 1793. Again, in 1795, he was overwhelmed with abuse. Why? Because it was alleged that he had been bought with British gold. The Jay Treaty which he favored was given as proof that he wanted to sell to England the liberty that had been won by the Revolution. And so we come round to the final absurdity of the

whole ugly and ridiculous business. Mayor Thompson heaps upon the American historians of his day the very accusations heaped upon George Washington by the political fanatics of his day. One might

wonder where Mayor Thompson would have been if he had lived in 1793. Could he have been saying of Washington the very same thing he says now of the historians—"British-bought and treason-tainted!"

"Treasonable" Textbooks and True Patriotism

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

HISTORIAN OF THE UNITED STATES GEORGE WASHINGTON BI-CENTENARY COMMISSION;
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

"**T**REASON-TAINTED school textbooks were a big issue in the Chicago Mayoralty campaign last Spring," says Big Bill. So far as Mayor Thompson is concerned, parks, boulevards, water supply, disposal of sewage, internal traffic, education and the suppression of crime are among the small issues of his administration of Chicago. Instead, just now, he is directing his undoubted energies to defending the heroes and patriots of the Revolution against people who have spent their lives in the effort to understand those men and women and to make them live in the minds of present-day Americans.

This "big issue" is not original with Mayor Thompson. It harks back to Charles Grant Miller, who, about ten years ago, began to publish a series of attacks on current textbooks culminating in a pamphlet called "Treason to American Traditions." That book has been the reservoir from which most of the attacks on school books and writers have been drawn. The author of it is at present technical and historical advisor of the Mayor, alongside bill-poster Hermann, who is his literary guide and reputed "executioner" of suspicious books.

The Mayor's article is, in effect, an indictment, in which about ninety different allegations or specifications can be distinguished. Among his list of high crimes and misdemeanors laid before the jury of readers of *CURRENT HISTORY*, the following are the principal specifications:

1—That William McAndrew, till recently Superintendent of the Chicago Schools, is a bad man who does not revere his Revolutionary forbears. The Mayor has practically charged him with being influenced to such infamous acts by British gold.

2—That said McAndrew has admitted to the Chicago schools textbooks which teach that the Americans were not united at the beginning of the Revolution and that many of them were satisfied with things as they were. Such, however, is the opinion of most of the recent historians of the period. British gold is the only explanation, to the Mayoral mind.

3—That "the heroes of Irish, Polish, German, Holland, Italian and other extractions have been dropped out from the histories." Could there be any other reason than British gold?

4—"That American school histories have been falsified and denatured through pro-British influences." Specifically, that several writers of American textbooks have shown an anti-American bias (doubtless deflected by British gold).

5—Among them is an unprincipled person named Albert Bushnell Hart, four of whose offences are proved by quotations from his writings, viz: (a) He called Sam Adams "a shrewd, hard-headed politician." Perhaps W. H. T. would think it a compliment to be called "shrewd," "hard-headed" and a "real politician"; (b) He repeats a remark undeniably made by Alexander Hamilton, namely, "Your people, sir, your people—is a great beast." Inasmuch as Hamilton was the strongest friend of Great Britain and the British system of government in his period, it is clear that this remark must have been purchased with British gold; (c) He communicates the fact that Jefferson was looked upon by the Federalists "as an atheist, a liar and a demagogue." That is clearly the effect of British gold, inasmuch as the author of the book must have known and must still know that public men in America at

that time and ever since, down to (if not through) Mr. Thompson's campaign as Mayor of Chicago, have never, never, used strong language or untrue language about each other. That would not be gentlemanly or American! (d) The colonists "professed and doubtless felt the warmest attachment to the King, whom God and Parliament had provided for them." That is certainly true of many colonists at the time which the writer of the book is describing. The proof is in the writings of such men as John Adams and John Dickinson, even of old "Parson Weems," and the testimony of many travelers in America at that time, not influenced by British gold.

6—That some of the textbooks include numerous passages derogatory to the Colonists. Candor requires the admission that his quotations prove that Mayor Thompson of Chicago, or anybody else, has a right to protest against that type of textbook, because it is not truthful. Nevertheless, the writers of those books can be wrong-headed and ill-tempered just because they are made that way. That capacity does not indicate British gold.

7—That these textbooks purposely omit mention of many American heroes. The Mayor's list even includes such English names as Ethan Allen, Anthony Wayne, Paul Revere and John Stark. Most American schools use two successive textbooks in American history; one for the earlier grades, containing many stories and personal details; the later one for High Schools taking more account of groups of people, and of cause and effect. Neither the Mayor nor his two intellectual assistants appear to be aware that until 1860 most American school histories were based on the Indians and the patriots of the Revolution. Since that time the nation has had nearly seventy years of vital national life. Modern textbooks devote large space to immigration, to races and to the development of the West, which has quadrupled the area of United States history. They describe trade and commerce, manufactures, navigation, social life, religion and education. It is impossible to give to the seven years of the Revolution the same relative space as in earlier times, in a genuine history that tells about the present country, no matter how much British gold the textbook writers do not receive.

8—That it is "overwhelmingly proved that organized foreign influences pervade the colleges and public schools of our country." There is some truth in this reproach. From the entrance of the United States

into the World War in 1917, a "Hands across the sea" cult has been at work. It does not seem to accomplish much. For instance, in the rescue of Sulgrave Manor (cradle of the Washingtons) from neglect and decay not an American dollar was spent on that transaction. The Britons raised all the money for the purchase of the Sulgrave estate right under the nose of the American Sulgrave Institution. No ordinary person who has been much in England of late can fail to be aware that the Britons of the ruling class, so far from paying gold for buying the American people, look on the citizen of the United States much as they do on the citizens of Canada or Australia, as "Worthy people, of course—but you understand."

9—That "the unpatriotic press broadcast the story that I intended to burn up books in the library." Here interposes a private difference of opinion between his Honor the Mayor and his Honor the Billsticker, who certainly did announce his purpose of burning certain books at the stake, and some people still assert that he held a bibliographical *auto-da-fé*, all his own, in an alley.

10—"That certain persons have the motive and hope of stupendous reward through the cancellation of foreign war debts. * * * Is love for England greater in some than love for America? * * * Are we nearing a day * * * to laugh at the founders of our nation?" Here the influence of British gold is only "adumbrated"; it certainly is not conclusively proved.

11—That the writers of American history have deliberately discriminated against other than English elements in our population, particularly the Poles, Dutch, Italians and the German and Irish. This race issue is one of fact. It is absolutely established that at the time of the Revolution the main non-English elements in the American Colonies were the Germans, the Scotch-Irish Protestants and the Africans. Also some thousands of Catholic Irish, who with the Catholic English in Maryland and elsewhere were sufficiently numerous by 1789 (supposed to be about 30,000 men, women and children, less than 1 per cent. of the total population) to justify the appointment of the first Catholic Bishop in the United States. These statistical facts cannot be traced to British gold, but to the estimates of population in Colonial times by observers on the ground and to the first Federal Census of 1790.

Since British gold is the main issue in

the mayoral article, how could the industry and cordial ill-will of Mayor Thompson and his historical staff have totally overlooked three Americans who can be proved to have had a great deal to do with British gold years ago? The first of those was John Hancock, merchant of Boston, who handled quantities of British gold through his large and profitable trade between the Colonists and the mother country. When the crisis came he cared vastly more about the rights and welfare of his countrymen than about British gold, and incurred the danger of hanging for the services to his country. Most Americans of today would do the same.

The second was Benjamin Franklin, who made a large fortune in business before middle life; who lived much in England, was the valued friend of William Pitt and many other distinguished Englishmen. Through his hands went many pieces of British gold till the time came to choose between what had become a foreign country and his own country.

The third was a rural gentleman and ex-soldier named George Washington, ten generations of whose ancestors had lived in England. His diaries and letters abound in references to golden guineas. He had some plans for visiting the old country; he fought in a British army; he bought and read English books; he imported an English overseer for his plantations; he wore a signet ring with the arms of his English progenitors. If British gold has the tremendous power ascribed

to it by William Hale Thompson, George Washington would have remained British. It had not the slightest effect when he realized that he had great responsibility in founding a new nation in America.

Nobody believes that Mayor Thompson would sell Chicago to the Canadians if he had the power, or that he would accept British gold to aid him in a Presidential campaign. Then by what right does he malign fellow-citizens who are as English of descent as he is himself, who work at least as hard as he does in behalf of their country, and who abominate such attempts to build up prejudices between the many races which have combined to make the country great?

A hundred-odd years ago there was a poet who wrote a verse about a man who spent a third of his life as a loyal subject of the two King Georges of that time, and who received British gold in inadequate payment for his distinguished service as a defender of the empire. That poem read as follows:

Where may the wearied eye repose,
When gazing on the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state?
Yes—one—the first—the last—the best
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate,
Bequeathed the name of Washington,
To make men blush where was but one!
Who was that poet? George Lord Byron, an Englishman! Was his splendid apostrophe purchased with English gold?

Character Building Through Truthful History

By DANA CARLETON MUNRO

FORMER PRESIDENT, AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (1927);
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

WHAT are the objectives in education on which we can all agree? First, character-building, so that the young people may grow up to be honest, truthful citizens; secondly, mental training, so that they may be intelligent citizens. Other objectives would be added by many; but I think no one would deny that these two are essential.

How is history to be taught with these

objectives in view? Must we not be careful to teach only the truth if we wish our young people to be honest and truthful? If we should omit, or attempt to justify, wrongdoing in the past, would we be training for intelligent citizenship? How can a man obtain the experience necessary to guide his conduct as a citizen? Either by the method of trial and error, often with disastrous consequences to himself and his

fellow-citizens, or by studying the lessons handed down by the past.

An engineer or a doctor must learn what is thought to be the best method of procedure, but he must also know the consequences of other methods which have been tried in the past. We take this for granted in the case of the engineer or doctor, but fail to apply the same reasoning to training for participation in government. Progress in medicine has prolonged human life; progress in science has increased enormously our material resources. But the social sciences have been too much neglected, and the determination of what should be taught and how it should be taught has been left to the decision of people untrained in the social sciences and frequently with axes to grind. Yet bad or stupid administration of government nullifies the advantages gained by the advances made in science or medicine.

If our democratic government is to function efficiently and economically the citizens, or at least the more fortunate who have had a high school education, must have training in history and government. They must learn what has been done by their predecessors and what the consequences were; otherwise, they will be at the mercy of any demagogue who advocates some course of action which has been tried repeatedly and proven a failure. Forewarned is forearmed. A wise father attempts to draw from his own experience and mistakes lessons that will be useful for the guidance of his children. In writing the history of our country we must do the same for our young people, the future citizens.

No one with intelligence higher than that of a moron believes that our country has never done anything wrong or that any one of our national heroes was faultless. Of our colonial period and of the men who were then influential, of the persecution of witches and Quakers, and other examples of man's inhumanity to his fellow men, it is easy, as some have done, to draw a very dark picture. Ancestor worshipers in our patriotic societies have learned that it is necessary to discard some ancestors lest the family tree be too shady.

Such a gloomy picture of our colonial ancestors and their acts does not represent the whole truth. We must realize and teach that the times were different, and that many of their deeds were the outgrowth of a different code of morality and a different point of view from our own. But, while keeping these facts in mind, the historian ought not to omit everything which would seem discreditable if done at the present

time. If he does, much of the value of history teaching will be sacrificed. To a democratic lover of his country it is inspiring to realize that there has been a wonderful growth and advance which has produced these United States, in spite of all the drawbacks and sinister influences in the past. An understanding of the mistakes which were made and of the difficulties which had to be overcome enables a citizen today to be justly proud of his country and to avoid some mistakes.

How shall we depict our national heroes? Shall we imitate a Parson Weems and tell a pack of lies about them, lies which the present generation of young people impatient of shams will readily detect and despise, or shall we portray them as men overcoming obstacles in their own character and environment until they obtained the eminence which made them heroic? What an inspiration it is to see the growth mentally and morally of Abraham Lincoln as it is revealed in the autobiography edited by Stephenson! How our admiration for him increases as we see him conquering his own weaknesses and becoming the hero whom we revere! Ought we to deprive our young people of such an example by falsely portraying a Lincoln without fault or weakness?

In the past, partisanship was extreme and leading newspapers used language about great men in the opposition party which now seems ridiculous and vile. Mayor Thompson states with disapproval that Hart teaches that Jefferson was looked upon by Federalists as "an atheist, a liar and a demagogue." Mayor Thompson does not state that Hart then shows that these charges were untrue and due wholly to party hatred. Is it worth while to omit all examples of such rancor and give our young people an impression that there was no such opposition, that politicians in the past used chaste and refined language, that mud-slinging is a creation of our own day? Is it not better to point out that such violence in language is always foolish?

The method used by Mayor Thompson to discredit the textbooks is the old familiar one of culling phrases and passages without their context, so that these produce a false impression of the work as a whole. For example, under "Pernicious Teachings" he quotes from West, "Democracy . . . the meanest and worst form of government." It sounds bad! When we turn to the passage in West we find that he is describing the narrow oligarchy which usurped power in the early days in Massachusetts, and to illustrate their point of view he writes: "And

the great Winthrop always refers to democracy with aversion. He insists that it has 'no warrant in Scripture,' and that 'among nations it has always been accounted the meanest and worst of all forms of government.' And then West describes how the people in Massachusetts gradually obtained some rights of citizenship in spite of the opposition of the illiberal leaders. How shall we characterize such a method of citation as "Democracy . . . the meanest and worst form of government"?

Again Mayor Thompson quotes from West, "Washington declared that he would have been wholly helpless for a long time had he not had under his command a small troop of English soldiers." This makes us open our eyes. We turn to the passage in West to learn how and when it happened. There we discover that West is speaking of Pontiac's War in 1763 when "George Washington was striving gallantly to guard the western frontier of Virginia" and when "for six months they [a few British regiments] were the only troops in the field." Other quotations which have been checked are equally reliable. One of the writers

especially attacked by Mayor Thompson for his pro-British proclivities was singled out by another author as inculcating hatred of England by the language which he used in his textbook.

It would be easy in any textbook which tells the truth, and in some that do not, to pick out passages which might be distorted into a meaning irritating to some class of our citizens; especially easy to pick out detached bits which would be offensive to the so-called "100 per cent. patriotism," which some of us would characterize as "30 per cent. patriotism."

Every true lover of this country who is familiar with its history knows that mistakes have been made in the past and are being made today. He believes that the surest way to avoid mistakes in the future is by teaching our young people the truth, by showing them how our institutions have developed, the bad features in the past which have been discarded, the evolution which is still continuing. And he is so proud of this country and its history and its heroes that he does not fear to have the truth told.

An Army View of History Teaching In the Schools

By ELBRIDGE COLBY
CAPTAIN, UNITED STATES ARMY

ALTHOUGH they bear no animus toward George the Third or George the Fifth, most military men are at one with Mayor Thompson in objecting to the patriotism of the usual school histories. But they differ with him as to the objection. The Mayor of the Smoky City says he finds them anti-patriotic and pro-British. Historical experts in the United States Army call them over-patriotic. Colonel Thomas J. Dickson of the First Division in the World War calls them "ridiculous, absurd and stupid" in their comments on the accomplishments of the A. E. F. Major W. A. Ganoe has written a history of the army which puts in many distressing facts which the usual books leave out. American military history has most commonly been expounded by sentimental patriots to the accompaniment of wildly waving flags and an utter disregard of facts or political implications. Officers of the army point out

that Americans have been taught in the schools that the old squirrel rifle from the mantelpiece will repulse any foe with a "shot heard round the world," and that the hardened physical condition of a good campaigner and ability at military affairs will descend like a dispensation from heaven upon volunteers in a righteous cause. To this teaching they attribute our habitual unpreparedness and the extravagances in money and in the wasted lives of untrained men which mark all our conflicts.

In 1776, after the red coats of Mayor Thompson's arch enemy, George the Third, had been forced out of Boston by threats, his armies headed for New York. While Congress was proclaiming the Declaration of Independence, Admiral Howe and General Howe were threatening New York with 30,000 troops. The school histories speak nicely of Washington's brilliant withdrawal. They do not mention the fact that Wash-

ington's inefficient staff was marked with a Philadelphia lawyer as Adjutant General, who wrote home that he might as well stay in the army, as the courts were closed and his practice suspended.

Cavalry refused to do their own fatigue work and had to be sent home, and their absence on the left flank at the battle of Long Island enabled General Howe to execute a surprise march around the Jamaica Road. The histories do not mention this. Instead they talk about Washington's personal solicitude, about his staying up all night and in person superintending the boat movement by night across the East River. Washington had to be up because he could not trust his staff to make or carry through the arrangements. He had to be up because his men were disheartened after their defeat and needed constant prodding.

The school histories write up the battle of Long Island like a pretty and cleverly conducted defeat. As a matter of fact, it was a rout. of advance detachments, outmanoeuvred and outfought by superior troops better led. The superpatriotic writers never like to mention General Sullivan rushing here and there, giving orders like a corporal to a squad, hiding then in a cornfield until Hessians captured him. They never tell of a provincial Congress which interfered by ordering troops away on a cattle-driving expedition, which Washington did not want. They never cheer loudly over brave militia refusing to take a post on Staten Island, because they had volunteered to serve only on the mainland. They never tell why New York fell into the hands of the foe, because it fell as a result of late and insufficient and irregular preparation when the attack was expected for months before, because it fell as a result of a disorganized army, due to a faulty dual system of regulars and short-term volunteers.

The lesson of Bunker Hill had not been learned. The lesson of Bunker Hill was the value of experienced militia, skilled through their previous service in the French and Indian campaigns. This lesson was neglected by the colonies prior to the battle of Long Island. No amount of patriotic "bunk" and false pride in praising masterly withdrawals can get around the fact that the engagement on Long Island was an American defeat, and a defeat caused by political rather than military errors.

It is for this reason that army men who think on this topic would wish for less patriotism, instead of more, in accounts of American campaigns.

IN 1814

The schoolbooks describe all too briefly the capture of Washington. They make the war of 1812 look like an American achievement, when it was really a disgrace. The only times our troops displayed clear superiority over the invaders was before New Orleans, after the Treaty of Peace was signed. In the artillery duel on New Year's Day, the boasted British guns were outshot by the American guns. At the pitched battle of Jan. 8, 1815, the flower of the British army fell before the brilliant discipline under fire and the masterful determination of Andrew Jackson and his veterans of the Creek campaigns.

The city of Washington fell, of course. And, of course, the histories have to record that fact. But histories, says the soldier-historian, are too frequently written by pacific professors, who may talk at length of the reasons for treaties, but are afraid to talk of the reasons for defeats.

Colonel Oliver L. Spaulding Jr., former head of the military history section of the Army War College, declares that war is a part of the nation's political life, that the school children who will be the voters of tomorrow must know why wars come, and their teachers are criminal if they do not teach the causes, consequences and costs of war. Tied closely into this political problem, then, say the army men, is the problem of military policy, the problem of preparedness or defenselessness.

We may cite the battle of Bladensburg, which led to the loss of the national capital. Napoleon abdicated his throne on April 4, 1814. In July, news arrived that the veteran victors of the Continent were coming across the Atlantic. A new military district was created to defend the capital, but the volunteer militia in that district were not called out and trained and organized; they were merely told to be ready to march from farm and fireside as a mass and not as a prepared military machine. Their General was designated, not for his military service or knowledge, but because he was a relative of a Governor. The defensive concentration was too hurried. On Aug. 18, it seems, word reached Washington that the British fleet was landing troops; on Aug. 20 the citizens were called; on Aug. 21 they were mustered in; on Aug. 22 they were reviewed by the President; two days later they met the enemy at Bladensburg and lost the battle.

Probably no operation in American history was ever so badly conducted from a tactical standpoint. It seems as if half the

sound principles of war were violated. But the fault was not that of the incompetent General, it was the fault of those who put such a man to such a test. The disaster was due to the policy of depending upon "last-minute" men, to the prejudice against armed troops, to the false confidence in American fighting ability. At New Orleans Jackson was actually outnumbered. At Bladensburg the British were outnumbered. Mere numbers did not win. Training won. Preparation won. These are the things which the teachers forget to put in the schoolbooks. They wave the flag and try to make the War of 1812 look like a glorious success, when they could teach more and better if they would forego the flourishes and the rhetoric and stick to facts. As long as American school histories continue to be patriotic, instead of clear, they will give the growing generations a false idea of what war means and how wars are won.

IN 1861

In 1861 we had a war thrust upon us. One side chose to make war rather than let the Union survive, and the other chose to accept war rather than let the Union perish. Thus it happens that political differences are sometimes resolved only amid the crash of musketry and the roar of artillery. In a political campaign people study the past; in a military campaign they merely wax patriotic and neglect the lessons of the past. If the histories had been written plainly, the people of 1861 would have learned this aright and would not have wildly and importunately shouted "*On to Richmond!*" irrespective of whether their troops could get to Richmond. They would have known the real difference between Bladensburg and New Orleans. They would have been taught that old "Rough and Ready" Zachary Taylor insisted on giving his raw volunteers hard training before leading them into conflict in the Mexican War, and so won his battles. They would have remembered that Scott was delayed before Mexico City because the terms of service of his volunteers were running out and replacements had to be awaited.

Military men who know their history have realized all this. They realize it today. They realize that hardening is necessary and that training is necessary. McDowell realized it in 1861. Old "Ben" Butler knew it when he said: "Troops do not get disciplined in ninety days." Yet Ben Butler was sent on an expedition out of Fortress Monroe, with a novelist for an Adjutant, so that two of his columns met in the dark and shot one another up. Yet McDowell

was sent out of Washington and Alexandria to bring against such soldiers as Stuart, Stonewall Jackson, Ewell and Longstreet a horde of Union troopers with helter-skelter staff officers of less than ninety days' service. Out of Washington in the train of the hastily formed brigades and divisions came Congressmen and society folk in barouches and carriages to see the great victory that should be the first step "on to Richmond." The "victory" was a rout—for the other side. The cause of the Union was set back for months and depression was widespread.

It was not the siege of Vicksburg that is worth knowing, but the brilliant manoeuvres of Grant by which he penned Pemberton inside of the city on the Vicksburg bluff. The school histories teach the wrong thing. They teach the facts that are thrilling and not those that are useful. They talk of battles as if forces met on the battlefield. It is what happens before the forces meet that counts, what happens many months before. Before Bull Run hastily raised troops were brought to the Potomac. They were brigaded the day before the grand advance. They were evidently untrained in proper advance guard operations. The staffs must have been as ignorant as they were recent in appointment. The battle of Bull Run was lost for the same reason the battle of Long Island was lost: political interference, lack of preparedness, insufficiency of training, short-term enlistments.

Not a school history has been found which points out that a regiment of artillery abandoned its guns at Centerville the night before the attack was set and walked home because the men found their time was up. Kipling's song was not yet written, and the soldiers did not then remark: "There's no discharge in the war!" The histories must be glowing and glorious. Mayor Thompson may think them anti-patriotic. The fact is they are too patriotic to be useful. They gloss over defeats and prevent the nation from learning by its mistakes.

IN 1898

In no respect are the American school histories more flagrantly inaccurate because of overpatriotism than in their accounts of the Spanish-American War of 1898.

"Big Bill" of Chicago has not yet declared himself on this topic, and perhaps is not interested. The foes of the Smoky City, the Georges of England, were not fighting, and the patriotic Americans could wave the Stars and Stripes to their hearts'

content. They pitied the poor Cubans. They were angry at the explosion that sank the Maine. Hobson valiantly sank a collier across the entrance to Santiago. Roosevelt waved his sword to the top of San Juan. The navy outshot and outsteamed Cervera's squadron. All these things are in the books, and they are very patriotically expressed. But you do not find in the usual school and college histories the things that make the Santiago campaign mean something less than a Fourth of July celebration. Here, as elsewhere, one is unable to discover any proper amount of space, if any space at all, given to the things which would enable a future voter to think intelligently on national and military policy.

Since 1848 the United States had been trying to get hold of Cuba. American investments in Cuba ran above thirty millions. Spanish troops in Cuba totaled 196,810 strong. Our regular army totaled 28,183 officers and men. In March, 1898, after the sinking of the Maine, Congress voted the sum total of two new regiments of artillery.

We went to war deliberately. We were short of troops, without a plan for military expansion or for supply. After Spain had, at the urgings of the Pope, agreed to accept our demand for mediation, we went right ahead along the lines dictated by the journalistic scareheads and the yellow press. We declared an armed blockade of Cuban ports. Spain accepted the challenge and announced that war existed.

Among the things that should be in the histories, and have been omitted by the brave patriots, is the fact that we sent an expedition of 16,000 men into an island where Spain had nearly 200,000—into a province where Spain had 36,000.

At El Caney 521 Spaniards held four American brigades at bay from morning until late afternoon. In almost every engagement the Spanish were badly posted, capable of being defeated in detail, and often actually under orders to withdraw. Our artillery commonly commenced firing from points beyond effective range. Our "victories" were easy. The antiquated black powder used made Grimes's battery at San Juan an easy target for the smokeless-powder Spanish Krupp guns. The Second Massachusetts at El Caney had to be held out of the fight because its old-fashioned rifles with black powder drew enemy fire. That regiment was compelled to stand by idly and suffer 5 per cent. casualties without striking back. Part of the Seventy-first New York recoiled in confusion on a narrow trail leading to San Juan, and con-

gested and held up the advance. Staff officers were unable to urge them on, and the panic-stricken men had to be shoved off the passage to make way for succeeding battalions coming up, some of whom actually walked to battle over the prone bodies of the shirkers.

The word of the officer students of history may be believed when they assert that the Santiago campaign was not as beautiful as the press and the public were led to imagine. The lack of preparation jumbled things terribly. Troops were improperly equipped. The food was of the quality of "embalmed beef." The war was won through luck, the discovery of Cervera's squadron and the accurate shooting of our navy. But, to read the school histories, you would think we waged a glorious struggle with fine patriotism and great efficiency.

IN 1917

School histories are as wildly patriotic and inaccurate on the World War as on any other American military campaign. We agree with "Big Bill" Thompson that the books are wrong. But they are wrong because they are too patriotic, rather than because they are too British in sympathy. If there is any propaganda at work, it looks more like pacifistic propaganda than like British propaganda. The accounts in the school texts would make it look as if we organized rapidly and splendidly and prepared as a fighting nation. The facts are quite different. In spite of strenuous "preparedness" campaigns, we were lamentably unready. In spite of the warning the sinking of the Lusitania gave us, two years in advance, we commenced to prepare only after we had declared war.

In the Mace-Bogardus history it is stated that American troops at St. Mihiel sent "the best troops Germany had" on their way "reeling back toward the Rhine." Colonel Dickson points out that for two months—between Sept. 12 and Nov. 11—the Germans contested every foot of the ground. The history makes a glorious and final victory out of what was, of course, a splendid operation, but one with "limited objectives." Great credit is due the American forces for the conduct of this attack, which proved the temper of American troops, but there is no sense in making it look as if we won the war by this one attack. The long struggle in the Meuse-Argonne was necessary before the German communications were cut. The hard blows of the British and the piercing thrusts of the French combined magnificently with

the Pershing punches to defeat the Germans. But the patriotic school histories get so excited over an American achievement that they exaggerate beyond truth.

Guitteau's *Our United States* announces: "The fighting at Belleau Wood, Château-Thierry and in the Argonne Forest demonstrated that the American soldier with six months of training is more than a match for the German veteran." To this Colonel Dickson rejoins: "Ideas like these, when believed by children, make work for the Graves Registration Service." We may add from Ayres's statistics that the average training was six months in the United States, two months in rear camps in France and one month in "quiet sectors." Some of this training was with wooden rifles, captured trophies for cannon, in overalls instead of uniforms.

We entered the war on April 6, 1917. It was in May, 1918, that American troops first took part in an offensive operation on the Western front, at the battle of Cantigny. The full force of our strength did

not begin to be felt until July or later. Even then it was not a case of patriotic perfection. Many officers insufficiently trained made costly mistakes. Untrained soldiers huddled together in groups and made ready targets for artillery and machine guns. Our casualties in the Argonne Forest, General Liggett has said, were unnecessarily large by 50 per cent.

Officers of the army, who know that lack of preparation means increased costs in money and unnecessary casualties, do not like to see American victories exploited by patriots who like glory better than truth. We disagree with "Big Bill" Thompson. We wish the histories were less patriotic and more correct. The schoolboys would learn, then, better what war means. As future voters they would be better able to think intelligently on the subject of preparedness and a proper military and national policy. They thus would know that war means being ready or getting ready; that it means hard training and fatal losses.

Truth the Basic Test of History

By LYON G. TYLER, LL. D.,

EDITOR *Tyler's Quarterly Historical Magazine*

THE question which Hon. William Hale Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, has raised in that city regarding pro-British propaganda in American history is not a new one. Under the title of *Treason to American Traditions*, Charles Grant Miller in 1922 issued a little brochure, endorsed by Frank H. Pettingell, President of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of California, pointing out the manifold sins against American achievement of the "altered" history text books of eight American writers: Hart, O'Hara, Ward, Muzzey, Barnes, Guitteau, McLaughlin and Van Tyne. Copious extracts were made from their school histories to show the pro-British tendencies of these well known students in history. In the Mayoralty campaign in Chicago which resulted in the election of William Hale Thompson only two new names were, I believe, added to the list of "traitors to American traditions"—Schlesinger and West.

The severe attacks which have been made on the motives of Mr. Thompson in various newspapers and magazines appear, there-

fore, to be unjust. He has been described as raising the issue for political effect and made subject to unlimited ridicule and unmitigated abuse. But others had raised the issue before him and there is no reason why he might not have been perfectly sincere about the affair. After reading many of these articles I can't help from feeling that the writers thereof, in their attempt to torture words and sentences into expressing something very smart and amusing, convict themselves of great folly and injustice. How far King George, the League of Nations and the World Court have taken part in conspiring with American historians versus American heroes and American traditions I am not prepared to say, but I do not agree with Mr. Thompson that anybody across the water had any hostile intent against this country. At the same time the case made against the ten historians, whose names have been cited, of under-rating the motives and achievements of our ancestors and of specializing facts for an end pro-British has a good deal of rock-bottom truth in it.

They do not state the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

And here I take a wide departure from Mr. Miller and Mr. Thompson. The issue in which, it appears to me, the American public should be interested is not Mr. Thompson himself, or Mr. McAndrew, the Superintendent of Schools of Chicago, or the politics of that city, or its mixed population of Poles, Slovacs, Italians, Jews, English and Americans, but the more general one of the proper attitude of the historian who is writing an American textbook in interpreting facts which he feels fully authenticated.

Truth is the fundamental test of history and there is no such thing as American truth, British truth, French truth or German truth—there is only one eternal, almighty truth for all. Two things only are to be considered by a just historian—statement of real facts, no matter what side they may favor, and impartial deductions from those facts according to their relative importance. An American history necessarily, of course, turns upon matters relating strictly to America. To lug in the history of other countries, except in an explanatory way, is a departure from the true philosophy of the work. The facts given should always afford a perspective and be full enough to justify the conclusion. In a real history indiscriminate eulogy, prejudicial statements and unwarranted conclusions have no place. While there is plenty of evidence that our forefathers were not as faultless as the old historians were in the habit of representing them, I hold that there is enough real heroism in American history and in American biography to afford all the inspiration necessary to patriotic citizens without the necessity of ascribing godlike attributes to the heroes or obscuring the real case by misrepresenting facts in favor of the Americans or using abusive language of the enemy or opposition.

To make my own position perfectly clear I have no hesitation in saying that no country ever had a more just cause for war than the United States in 1775 and 1812 with Great Britain, or in 1846 with Mexico, or in 1917 with Germany. The only war I condemn is the war of 1861, which was hardly a war of the United States but a war of a group of Northern States against a group of Southern States whose only crime was to put in operation the principle of self-determination, a principle on which the independence of the

United States had been originally founded. So far as my present loyalty is concerned, I do not know that it stands in any worse case than that of some of the historians arraigned by Mr. Thompson for condemning the War of the American Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War.

And yet, what if it should be admitted that the duty of the historian is to write the school history from the purely American standpoint, interpreting it, as suggested by Mr. Miller, as a "grand pageant of principles, triumphs, ideals and purposes?" How are we to go about it? Every one knows that every section of the country has its heroes and so-called heroic scenes and events. We of the South have our Davis and Lee, and you of the North have your Lincoln and Grant. The Virginian cares very little for John Hancock, John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, and I have seen our Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Tyler outrageously vilified by New England writers. Mr. James Schouler of Massachusetts, who wrote for the American Historical Society in 1895 an excellent article on the duty of the historian to adhere to truth, was one of the most unjust and partisan historians of his day.

Undoubtedly the action of the Virginians and Patrick Henry on the Stamp act in starting the American Revolution is the most important fact in the preliminary period to that celebrated war. In any well-balanced history it ought to have as much space as all the other incidents taken together, for without it there would have been no Revolution. But the average American historian of the old stamp, being principally of New England antecedents, has chosen to give far more space to more local affairs like the Writs of Assistance and the Boston Massacre. I don't know that the historians of the new viewpoint show any better perspective or make any superior display of historical balance. It is a subject of complaint in Virginia that many patriotic speakers and writers from New England make Plymouth out an earlier settlement than Jamestown, when there would have been no Plymouth without a previous Jamestown.

All of which proves that the only standard around which all may safely rally is the truth and while I never expect to see a really fair history of the United States I have a great regard for the man who tries to approximate the ideal, "And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

MAYOR THOMPSON'S REPLY TO CRITICS

AS my article has been read in advance by those who in this issue take positions in opposition to it, I believe I am entitled to space for rebuttal. It is little space that I need, for the weakness of the answers of the historians who attempt to make reply is, to my mind, added proof of the correctness of my position.

Hart again argues for a condensation of the story of the American Revolution, which story for 150 years has been an inspiration to free men everywhere in the onward march in the cause of humanity. We want more, rather than less, of it. Hart resorts again to his history-writing tricks in referring to Library Trustee U. J. Herrmann as "a bill sticker," nothing more, while justice would dictate the truth that he is a successful business man, a man of education and an arctic explorer.

Hughes is guilty of more muckraking of Washington and again affronts patriots by boldlyologizing the infamous Schlesinger history, which calls George Washington a rebel and a traitor (not a rebel and traitor to England, but by inference a rebel and traitor to his own country, from an American view point). The Schlesinger history is filled with unpatriotic utterances. Hughes refers to George Washington's "praise" of Benedict Arnold, neglecting to state that this praise was bestowed before the traitor betrayed his country. Hughes extols the anti-American historians who are now a curse and menace to the country, saying that "only of late has scientific honesty been attempted in the discussion of our national history." By inference he denounces as liars all that long line of fine, patriotic historians who went before. I will take my stand for America and with the old historians.

In my speech at Aurora, Ill., in 1915, I said in part: "If the people of the United States do not stop sending arms, ammunition and death-dealing implements of war to one set of belligerent nations in Europe, the people of America will pay in American blood what they gained in foreign gold." That prediction came true.

When dictating my article for this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, I stated that one of the purposes of the so-called modern history writers was to tear down our national heroes and destroy the patriotic ideals of the school children of today for the purpose of creating foreign sentiment to make it possible to cancel the debts of foreign coun-

tries to the United States and foist this added burden of taxation on the American people. Last week I read with interest about a convention of so-called modern history writers held in Washington, D. C., and their advocacy and lengthy discussions of the cancellation of foreign debts embarrassed official Washington to such an extent that it was necessary for the Administration to renew the pledge for the collection of these debts. It is interesting to note that my prediction was proved true before my article was printed.

The short cut to the cancellation of debts and the drafting of the American boy for foreign war service is by putting the United States in the League of Nations or the World Court, giving Great Britain seven votes to one for the United States. Every United States Senator who was up for reelection who voted for the World Court, save one, was retired to private life by the votes of the American people, and it is my opinion that true Americans will retire to the background so-called modern history writers.

The accredited gem of the English language given to us by the savior of this nation, Abraham Lincoln, is his Gettysburg address, and concludes as follows: "That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." President Lincoln saw the necessities of issuing this warning eighty-seven years after we had become a free and independent nation, and it might be well for us to pause and consider the importance of true Americans renewing that resolve and protecting themselves against the defamers of our national heroes.

Gladstone, the great English statesman, said: "The Constitution of the United States is the greatest instrument for a given purpose ever struck from the mind of man." The modern historian teaches that the founders of our country were "selfish, unworthy, short-sighted, narrow-minded, office-seeking and office-trading plotters." The surest way to strike the flag and destroy respect for the Constitution is to belittle, as modern historians do, the individuals who framed that Constitution; who signed the Declaration of Independence; composed the Continental Congress, and fought and won the Revolutionary War.

WM. HALE THOMPSON.

The First American Soldiers Who Died in France

Official Testimony by French General Supported by Former French Ambassador and United States War Department

The question of America's first war casualties in France, which has been the occasion of considerable controversy, was recently revived by an article written by General P. E. Bordeaux and published in the *Paris Temps* on Nov. 4, 1927. General Bordeaux commanded the French division to which the American First Division was attached in 1917. The Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* invited the former French Ambassador, M. Jules Jusserand, who is now in France, to express his views and comments on General Bordeaux's statement, and further requested the United States War Department to send to *CURRENT HISTORY* for publication a transcription of its official records on the first American war dead in France. The War Department's statement was written especially for publication in *CURRENT HISTORY*. All three statements are embodied in the following article.

I—THE STATEMENT OF GENERAL P. E. BORDEAUX.

IT was just ten years ago, counting from today, Nov. 3., 1927, when the first American soldiers fell before the enemy on the soil of France, fighting for the righteous cause that they had come to defend. It was during the night of Nov. 2-3, 1917, toward morning, that the Germans launched an attack upon a sector of the front which our allies had just occupied, and this attack caused the death of three of them. Closely associated with these events, regarding which my memory and my notes are equally precise, I willingly recall them.

In the months of August, September and October, 1917, the first American division, which had recently landed in France, was being trained in Lorraine, studying the methods and procedure of war. The French division which I commanded was attached to the American division by a link of service which soon became transformed into a tie of friendship. Our soldiers, without perhaps realizing that this arrival of an American army in France was one of the most momentous events of modern times, grasped all the value of this support. * * *

On Oct. 20 the American units, battalions and batteries, entered progressively a sector on the front, amidst our own men, facing the Germans * * * The German lines were quite far from our lines at this point, about a kilometer. Patrols were carried out every night; soon gunshots and cannonades began to be exchanged. On

Oct. 25, accompanied by General Sibert [commander of the American division], I visited the village of Athienville, situated on the line of defense. It had been evacuated long before. * * * During the night of Oct. 27-28 the Americans took their first prisoner. On the morning of the 28th, at Jumelles d'Haracourt, Lieutenant Harden of the Twenty-sixth Regiment of Artillery was wounded in the leg by a shell splinter; this was the first blood shed by our allies.

The Germans had not been slow in recognizing that a change had taken place in the occupation of our front [viz, that new troops faced them], and, as usual, they had recourse to a sudden night attack to confirm this belief. * * * They chose for their objective the post of Artois, which was occupied by a detachment of the Sixteenth Regiment of American infantry. During the night of Nov. 2-3, a few hours before dawn a violent cannonade was heard. This was the necessary prelude to the operation. Soon we learned of what had occurred; the enemy had taken several prisoners, and some soldiers had been killed. I went there immediately, accompanied by General Marshall of the staff of the American division.

When I arrived, at daybreak, I found there an artillery commander of my own division, who was engaged in reconstructing the events from the viewpoint of the artillery action. "The Germans," he told me, "had it their own way. The engagement was perfect, and the sector bombarded was absolutely crushed." Over a front of



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM THOMAS FITZSIMONS

The first American officer killed in the World War. (Medical personnel.)

about 100 meters everything, as he said, was crushed and destroyed. Three men had been killed—the first of their [the American] army. But what is important to state, what must remain as a title of honor for their regiment and for their country, is that these men had not been victims of the bombardment, but of the attack of the German infantry. All three bore many wounds from rifle and revolver bullets, and bayonets as well. These three heroes, then, had not been crushed and annihilated by one of those frightful bombardments hitherto unknown; they were on their feet when the night raid came; they had fought at close quarters, and in the face of that defense the German soldiers had not dared to venture beyond the first line and had immediately withdrawn.

Those three glorious dead were: Corporal James Gresham and Privates Merle D. Hayes and Thomas Enright; their names must be remembered, together with that of Lieutenant W. C. Comfort, Commander of Company J of the Sixteenth Regiment, under whom they fought. From this day on the enemy held a deep respect for this

new enemy arising before it. At dusk of the next day, Nov. 4, the dead were buried in the cemetery at Bathelémont. I witnessed the ceremony, which was as solemn and impressive as possible under the circumstances, and I spoke a few words of farewell, the text of which I delivered to an American officer. * * * These facts were soon made known on the other side of the Atlantic.

GEN. P. E. BORDEAUX.

Paris, France.

II—M. JUSSERAND'S STATEMENT

THE note of General Bordeaux * * * is well worthy of attention, not only because it comes from one who was on the spot, but also because the General expresses the feelings of the majority of the French people. * * *

That the first three Americans who died in the war are those mentioned by General Bordeaux can scarcely be doubted, since he was there, as well as General Sibert. We have always been sure of the fact, so sure that while the war was still in progress we erected a monument to them. It is very dignified. On one side is seen the double-barred cross and the thistle of Lorraine. On the other is engraved a beautiful inscription which, translated into English, reads:

Here in the soil of Lorraine rest the three



International

PRIVATE JAMES B. GRESHAM
One of the first three American soldiers killed in action in the World War

first American soldiers killed facing the foe, on Nov. 3, 1917: Corporal J. B. Gresham (of Evansville)—Private Thomas Enright (of Pittsburg)—Private Merle D. Hay (of Glidden). Worthy sons of their great and noble nation, they fought for Right, for Liberty, for Civilization, against German Imperialism, the scourge of mankind.

We also had made during the war, by the National Manufactory of Sèvres, miniature reproductions of the monument, and I sent a copy to one of the mothers of these dead whose address I was able to secure. Another is on the table before me as I dictate.

If the discussion concerns the first man of any nationality who died on the soil of France there is no doubt that it was Corporal Peugeot, shot dead by a German cavalry patrol at Jonchery, ten or twelve kilometers within our frontier, on Sunday, Aug. 2, 1914, one day before the Germans declared war on us. The corporal, just mobilized, was in private life a school-teacher. As diplomatic relations had not yet been broken Ambassador Jules Cambon was instructed to protest at Berlin against this.

Paris, France. JULES JUSSERAND.

III—WAR DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

THE records of the War Department show that First Lieutenant Louis J.



International

PRIVATE THOMAS F. ENRIGHT
One of the first three American soldiers killed in action in the World War. He came from Pittsburgh, Pa.



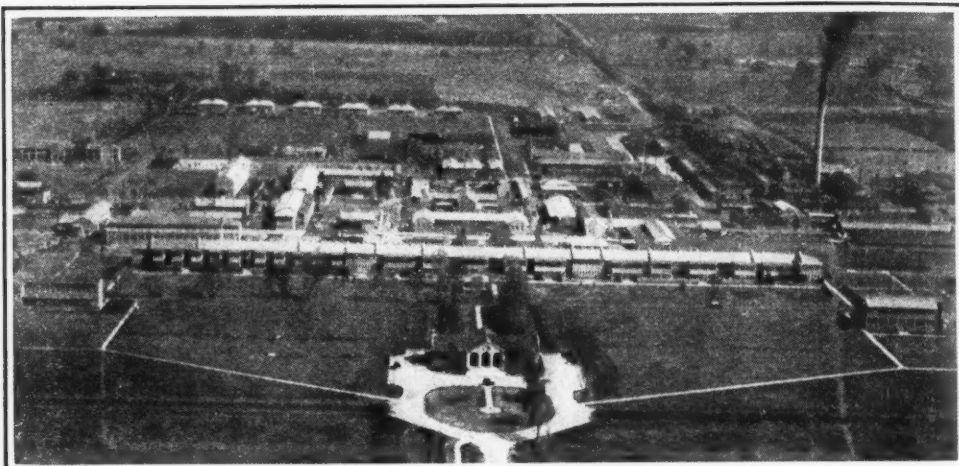
International

PRIVATE MERLE D. HAY
One of the first three American soldiers killed in action in the World War

Genella, Medical Corps, while serving with the British forces, was wounded by shell on July 14, 1917. In point of time, this is the first casualty suffered among the United States Army personnel during the World War.

The records further show that the following named members of the American Expeditionary Forces were killed on Sept. 4, 1917, by bombs being dropped upon United States Army Base Hospital No. 5, Dannes-Camiers, France, by enemy airplanes: First Lieutenant William T. Fitzsimons, Medical Reserve Corps, and First-Class Privates Rudolph Rubino Jr., Medical Department; Oscar C. Tugo, Medical Department, and Leslie G. Woods, Medical Department. These were the first American soldiers to be killed during the World War by military agents of the German Government. At the same time four commissioned officers, one member of the Army Nurse Corps and five enlisted men were wounded.

The first members of the combatant forces of the American Army to be killed in a front-line action during the World War were: Lance Corporal James B. Gresham, Private Thomas F. Enright and Private



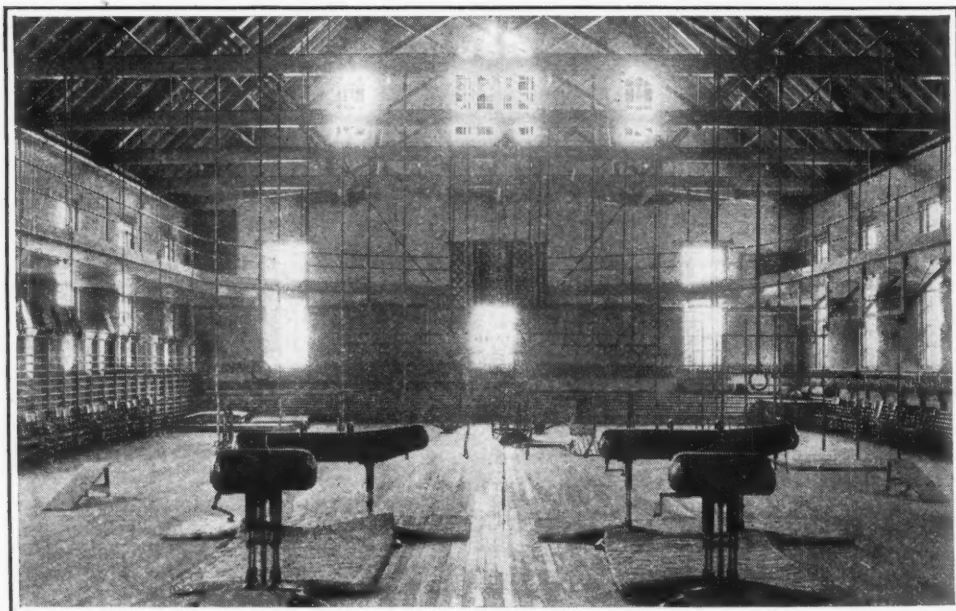
Fitzsimons General Hospital, United States Army, at Denver, Col., named in honor of Lieutenant William Thomas Fitzsimons, the first American officer killed in the World War

Merle D. Hay, all members of Company F, Sixteenth Infantry. These three men were killed on Nov. 3, 1917, at practically the same time, in the course of a German raid on trenches occupied by American soldiers at Batheleumont, France.

The records furthermore show that on

Oct. 28, 1917, First Lieutenant DeVere H. Harden, Signal Corps, was wounded by an enemy shell which exploded in front of a dugout while he was serving as signal officer of the Twenty-sixth Infantry.

DWIGHT F. DAVIS,
Washington, D. C. Secretary of War.



The Post Gymnasium at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. (the Medical Field School), known as Tugo Hall in honor of Private Tugo

1778 French Treaty an Influence On American Aloofness

By CHARLES E. MARTIN

DEAN OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE FACULTY, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

IN this month of February, 1928, it is interesting to recall that just 150 years ago the United States and France signed the first treaty in the history of the diplomatic relations between the two countries. More interesting still is it to consider how the American policy of "aloofness" from the affairs of Europe was influenced by that treaty of 1778.

The Government of the United States in an effort to establish its independence had to do several things. It justified its independence in the form of a document called the Declaration of Independence. It established a form of government through articles of union drawn up by the Continental Congress. Neither the revolutionary instrument nor the new Government were indifferent to the relation of the new State to foreign Powers. The first asserted expressly that the new political community had the clear right to assume that equal station among the nations intended by nature and nature's God, and justified the step "out of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." The Government was faced with the practical problem of establishing and maintaining intercourse with foreign Powers.

By resolution of Congress of Nov. 29, 1775, a Committee of Five was appointed to correspond with American friends in Great Britain, Ireland and other parts of the world. The committee was instructed to lay its correspondence before the Congress when so ordered. The Congress agreed to pay the expenses involved in these negotiations and to pay the agents employed in this service. This revolutionary legislature determined to establish diplomatic relations with the leading European Governments. Missions were accordingly sent to the European courts, the object of which was to borrow money and to obtain recognition. Franklin felt that the new State should await the application of the other Governments before being a suitor for alliances. But the Congress was not so minded. The representatives were unwelcome, and the manner of the appeals was not of the most dignified sort.

Franklin, encouraged by reports from

the French court, favored seeking an alliance with France, but with no other Power. The interest of France antedated the revolutionary movement. She had been reduced to the position of an ordinary Power by the Seven Years' War and the Treaty of Paris of 1763. She had sustained severe losses in military and naval power, in commerce, in colonial dominion and in political prestige. What could be done to repair and restore it? Would an alliance with the revolted colonies of America produce this result? Such was the pragmatic test applied by the crafty Vergennes. He merely watched the American situation carefully with the idea of French intervention in mind, and in the meantime pondered over the questions of recognition, alliance and intervention.

The Congress made a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance between the United States and France, and submitted it to the Committee on Secret Correspondence on Oct. 2, 1776. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Silas Deane were commissioned to negotiate the treaty. Any member of the commission was empowered to act in case of the absence or disability of the others. Jefferson declined to serve and Arthur Lee, then in London, was substituted for him. Silas Deane had preceded the other commissioners to France, and had undertaken the negotiations in advance of Franklin's arrival. Some of his unwise negotiations led to his recall on Dec. 8, 1777. It should be said, to his credit, that he opened the way for Franklin and that he secured material aid from unofficial French sources for the American revolutionary movement.

Congress and the Secret Committee constantly prodded the commissioners to conclude a treaty of alliance as early as possible. They were reminded that, with the Declaration of Independence and the embassy to France as facts of history, all accommodations with Great Britain were totally at an end save on principles of peace and in a manner quite consistent with the treaties the commissioners might make with foreign States. The commissioners, seeking to do everything reasonable which

would have the effect of hastening the alliance, agreed that their Government would not enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain in case France or Spain should enter into a treaty with the United States of America and in consequence enter into a war with Great Britain. This pledge, together with the publication of the Articles of Confederation and the various State constitutions and the defeat of General Burgoyne, convinced France that the revolutionary movement was a formidable one which might, with French aid, realize the objects of French diplomacy. Vergennes granted an audience to the commissioners on Dec. 12, 1777, which led to a series of negotiations and to the conclusion of the treaties.

CONCLUSION OF THE TREATIES

Treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance, were concluded in Paris on Feb. 6, 1778, after Louis XVI of France had expressed his belief to Charles III of Spain that the "Bourbon system of alliance" would best be maintained by an alliance between himself, his most Catholic Majesty and the United States. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce followed the Congressional plan, which remains today the model for most of our commercial treaties. It covered the usual subjects which are provided for in such conventions. The crowning achievement of the commissioners was the Treaty of Alliance, which John Bassett Moore has aptly termed "the most important diplomatic event of the American Revolution." By the first article an alliance was formed against Great Britain. In the event of war between France and Great Britain before the close of the Revolution the countries agreed to "make it a common cause and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils and forces, according to the exigence of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies." By Article II the avowed purpose of the defensive alliance was to "maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty and independence absolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce." It meant clearly the intervention of France in behalf of American commercial and political independence. In keeping with previous pledges, each party agreed not to conclude a treaty of peace without the consent of the other, and not to lay down arms until American independence had been guaranteed by treaties.

There were a few details as to operations. Each party, acting alone, should

do all it could to cripple the common enemy. Joint action was to be regulated by a special convention. Any reduction of the British power in North America or the Bermudas should result in an enlargement of the territory of the United States. France renounced all claim to any territory in North America or the Bermudas that had been formerly ceded to Great Britain. The islands in the Gulf of Mexico were, in case of success, reserved to France. Other nations were invited to make common cause against Great Britain. In effect the United States guaranteed to France the possessions held by the latter in America and any others which might be gained by the treaty of peace; France guaranteed the liberty, sovereignty and independence of the United States and the territories taken in the war.

On Feb. 16, 1778, the three envoys transmitted the treaties to the committee on foreign affairs, remarking that "this is an event which will give our States such an appearance of stability as must strengthen our credit, encourage other Powers in Europe to ally themselves with us, weaken the hopes of our internal as well as our external enemies, fortify our friends and be in many other respects so advantageous to us that we congratulate you upon it most heartily." On May 4, 1778, Congress ratified the treaty, which later brought the United States face to face with the question of interference in European affairs, and the question of intervention or non-intervention as an American policy. The alliance was of inestimable value in winning the war for independence, but our later connections with it were not so fortunate.

The year 1789 was marked by the outbreak of the French Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The change wrought by the Revolution in the Government of France raised serious foreign questions. We were forced in time to define our relations to the conflict. Gouverneur Morris, American Minister in Paris, informed the Government in Washington of the posture of affairs, and sought instructions as how to proceed. With succeeding upheavals, he found himself "in a state of contingent responsibility of the most delicate kind." Jefferson, as Secretary of State, responded that "It accords with our principles to acknowledge any government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation, substantially declared." We could not, he observed, deny to any

nation the right on which our own Government is founded.

WASHINGTON'S PEACE POLICY

The French revolutionary movement attracted wide sympathy in the United States. The political theories of Locke and Rousseau as regards natural rights, and especially as regards the right of revolution, had a deep effect in America and in France. Many popular demonstrations were held. The term "citizen" became widely adopted. Jefferson feared that the spirit of 1776 was being rekindled, and wished that the American people might suppress their spirit "within the limits of a fair neutrality." Washington was not moved by the enthusiasms of the people. He merely advocated provision for the national defense and an extended foreign intercourse in his first inaugural message. In 1790, he remarked that the European situation should make America more circumspect in maintaining peace, and that the tendency of a war should be met by preparation for war. He predicted commercial troubles and recommended action to meet them. All of his correspondence reveals a desire to remain at peace with the world. He remarked that the guarantee of peace caused the people to appreciate and uphold the Government.

The approaching war in 1793 found Washington anticipating the course of the Government. On April 12, 1793, he wrote to Jefferson that the war having begun between France and Great Britain, the Government should, through maintaining a strict neutrality, do all it could to prevent its citizens from embroiling the United States in the conflict. The appointment of Genêt as French Minister to the United States had been communicated to Jefferson by Morris. These events raised several questions which had to be settled. On April 18, 1793, Washington submitted, in substance, the following questions for the consideration of his Cabinet:

(1) Shall a proclamation of neutrality issue to prevent American citizens interfering in the present war?

(2) Shall a Minister from the French Republic be received?

(3) If so, shall the reception be absolute or qualified, and if with qualifications, of what kind?

(4) Is the Government obliged in good faith to regard the French treaties as applying to the present situation? May they be renounced, or may they be suspended until the French Government is established?

As to question 1, it was agreed that a

proclamation of neutrality should issue forbidding citizens to take any part in hostilities and enjoining them from doing anything contrary to the standards of neutrality. Such a paper was issued on April 22, 1793. As to question 2, it was agreed that the Minister should be received. Questions 3 and 4 were postponed to another day. The remaining questions involved Hamilton and Jefferson in a notable controversy which resulted in the main in the formulation of our policy of non-intervention, and the related policies of *de facto* recognition and neutrality.

Jefferson held that all acts by public agents under the authority of the nation were acts of the nation and could not be annulled or affected by any change in the form of the Government or of the principles administering it. The treaties in question, therefore, were treaties between the United States and France and not between the United States and Louis Capet, and, in spite of the fact that both nations had since changed their form of Government, both had remained in existence and the treaties had not been annulled thereby. Jefferson concluded, therefore, that the treaties were still binding without regard to changes in Government.

Hamilton took a more expedient view. He briefly recited the facts in order to strengthen his position. The treaties, he said, were between the United States and the King of France, his heirs and successors. A new Constitution accepted by the King had not changed the status of things. The seizure of the King and the declared suspension of the royal Government was effected by a body unauthorized to destroy any other constituted authority. No convincing evidence had been produced against the King. Among other irregularities, the King had been put to death, which brought up the question whether this was an act of national justice. That the new Government was irregular and had not established itself was evidenced by the fact that all Europe regarded it as an act demanding determined intervention to restore the royalty to power. The question then was concerning the future Government of France—would the royal authority be restored or would a republic be established? Hamilton's contention was that the facts and circumstances proved that the revolution was not a free, regular and deliberate act of the French nation.

The different positions of these men may be explained in part by the fact that they had different points of view. The contro-

versy made possible a decision as to policy by Washington even before the actual necessity for its application arose. Hamilton had the same view of the French Government as the enemies of France held. He doubted its *de jure* status, and refused to accord it a *de facto* one until it had been definitely established. With all Europe in arms, refusing to recognize the Government as *de facto*, and intervening to restore the monarchy, the United States could not be guilty of a breach of neutrality by refusing to continue an alliance with a Government not as yet able to maintain itself, but would be guilty of an act of intervention by being the ally of a Government the rise of which many Governments regarded as in itself a ground for intervention. He accordingly declared for the renunciation of the treaties, and insisted upon a reservation of the question of suspension and annulment until the circumstances of the case could be examined. To have followed Hamilton's course would have led to a test of governmental efficacy common to the Old World but antagonistic to our principles, and to an unjustified discrimination between the French State and the French Government. It might conceivably have led to war. But Hamilton's position disclosed an acute understanding of the inconveniences which the treaties, if continued, might lead to. The view of Jefferson was adopted. The likelihood of being called upon to perform dangerous obligations under the treaty was, he said, extremely doubtful. Only the preservation of the life of the State could justify renunciation. In this case all alliances would be put aside. Obligations could not be renounced merely because they were useless or disagreeable. They could be dealt with through the proper channels when the question should arise, and did not of themselves justify suspension. He recognized the right of revolution, and recognized no distinction between a State and a Government because of the Government's liberal or revolutionary character, or the character of opposition entertained by intervening enemy States. His test was purely a *de facto* one. Accordingly, Genêt was received as Minister without qualifications, and the treaties were considered as continuing. Jefferson's dealings with the French Government as Secretary of State with respect to the alliance and the war fully justified the wisdom of his course and definitely established his connection with the origin and adoption of our policy of isolation.

Edmond C. Genêt, who had been named as Minister of France to the United States,

had set out for this country with 300 blank commissions which he intended to distribute to such persons as would fit out cruisers in American waters to prey on British commerce. He at once proceeded to commit acts which he deemed to be within his rights and America's obligations under the treaty. He began fitting out and commissioning privateers before he had delivered his credentials, or before he had been recognized as Minister. He suggested that the United States anticipate its stipulated payments of its debt to France by furnishing provisions and military stores. The British ship *Grange* was seized by a French cruiser within the capes of the Delaware. Great Britain at once protested against making the United States a base of operations against her commerce. On the advice of the Attorney General, the vessel was restored on the ground that it had been seized in neutral waters.

THE RECALL OF GENET

Jefferson, in writing to Genêt declared that it was the right of each nation to prevent acts of sovereignty by other Powers within its limits, and the duty of a neutral to prohibit such acts as would injure a belligerent. The acts of Genêt were placed within this category. Genêt made a heated reply. His subsequent notes were drafted in the same objectionable manner and tone. On Aug. 23, 1793, Jefferson asked for Genêt's recall. He replied on Sept. 18, complaining of ill-treatment and humiliation, attacking Washington for slighting him and Hamilton for abusing him, denouncing the incompetency of the courts, and finally appealing to the people as against the Government. He later disavowed any activities on his part to recruit an armed force in the United States, but admitted the granting of military commissions to American citizens in South Carolina for that purpose. His recall ended a severe test for the policy of non-intervention, at bottom favored both by Hamilton and Jefferson, and adopted by Washington. In a communication of May 3, 1793, Genêt stated that his Government had charged him "to propose to your Government, to establish, in true family compact, that is, in a national compact, the liberal and fraternal basis on which she wished to see raised the commercial and political systems of two peoples, all of whose interests are confounded." The proposal was a definite invitation to strengthen the former alliance, and, had it been accepted would have led to intervention in the European war.

On Sept. 17, 1796, George Washington gave his final official word to the people of the United States. He warned the American people against favoritism toward or hatred of any particular nation. Favoritism, he said, might easily lead to imaginary common interest where none really existed; and might easily result in concessions to the favored nations which would be regarded as grounds for resentment by the others. He further pointed out how the favoritism of a small nation for a larger would result in the ultimate submission of the former to the rule of the latter, and how foreign influence was one of the most baneful foes of republican government. Our political connections with Europe should be limited to the fulfillment of existing engagements. But no others should be assumed. Europe had one set of primary interest; we had another. In thus setting before the American people a guide for their future foreign relations, Washington was merely reducing to written statement his experience with the French revolution, the French treaties, and the troublesome *Genêt*. The address of 1796 was merely the experience of 1793.

Jefferson as President had to deal with the problems anew which he had faced previously as Secretary of State. The war between France and Great Britain was renewed in 1803. The people had by this time lost their enthusiasm for any participation in the war on the side of France. Jefferson, while sympathetic with France, had always been opposed to departing from our neutral policy. Insistence on a policy of neutrality led both France and Great Britain to violate our neutral rights. In 1794 John Jay negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, the object of which was to settle the question of neutral rights, so far as Great Britain was concerned. The negotiation of this treaty with the most effective enemy of France made clear our position as a neutral Power, and rendered intervention on the side of France impossible. France expressed her displeasure by additional decrees against neutral commerce, and by complaints officially directed against the United States. It was objected that the United States had refused to execute the French treaties; that British ships of war had been admitted to American ports in violation of the terms of the commercial treaty; and that by the Jay treaty the United States had "knowingly, and evidently sacrificed their connections with the republic and the most essential and least contested prerogative of neutrality." It

was further charged that the United States had questioned whether or not it should execute the treaties, "or receive the agents of the rebel and proscribed princes"; that the President had issued "an insidious proclamation of neutrality"; and that the United States had unfairly passed neutrality laws and regulations which had been adversely applied to France.

The United States made appropriate replies to these complaints, justifying its action under the treaties and as a neutral State. But they were deemed inadequate by the French, and new decrees were directed against neutral commerce. Pickering was recalled as Minister to France and G. C. Pinckney of South Carolina was named as his successor. The President was informed that the Directory would "no longer recognize nor receive a Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States until after a reparation of the grievances demanded of the American Government, and which the French Republic has a right to expect." Pinckney was ordered to leave France, and was denied even the privileges of a resident alien. A new decree declared a "general and summary confiscation of American vessels." The President of the Directory, Barras, declared in an unfortunate speech that "France, * * * strong in the esteem of her allies, will not abase herself by calculating the consequences of the condescension of the American Government to suggestions of her former tyrants. * * * They will weigh, in their wisdom, the magnanimous benevolence of the French people with the crafty caresses of certain perfidious persons who meditate bringing them back to their former slavery."

President John Adams, enraged at the insults to Pinckney and the speech of Barras, which suggested a separation between the people and the Government of the United States, laid the matter before the Congress on May 16, 1797. He recommended that such insults should be decisively repelled, so as to convince France and the world that the United States was not "a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, regardless of national honor, character and interest." Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry were at length sent to France to negotiate with respect to these differences. Then happened the celebrated "XYZ" episode, during which the Commissioners were solicited for a loan and a *douceur*. As is generally known, this mis-

sion ended in failure, and President Adams justly declared in a message to Congress he would "never send another Minister to France without assurance that he will be received, respected and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent people." The two nations began belligerent preparations and actual maritime warfare existed between the two States, although undeclared. Talleyrand finally suggested that the two countries treat with respect to their outstanding grievances. This may have prevented our entering the war against France.

ABROGATION OF 1778 TREATY

Ellsworth, Davie and Murray were sent as Ministers in response to this overture with full powers to negotiate, but with definite instructions. They claimed that the French treaties of 1778 had been abrogated by a solemn public act only after France had in many ways violated the treaty of amity and commerce. The French envoys contended that they could not consider the treaties as annulled; there had been no state of war so far as France was concerned. They regarded abrogation as provocation to war, and in that case would refuse to treat further unless negotiations were preceded by a treaty of peace. Since an insistence on American claims would have led to war, their consideration was postponed to avert it. The French would not agree to deal separately as regards the question of claims and treaties. A treaty was signed on Sept. 30, 1800. By Article II it was agreed that since no concurrence could be reached in respect of the treaties of alliance, amity, and commerce of 1778, and the convention of 1788, or upon the alleged indemnities of both nations, negotiations would continue at a more convenient time. The convention and treaties were in the meantime to have no operation. Provision was made for the commercial relations between the two countries, but this article was expunged on demand of the Senate. It was agreed that the convention should be in force for eight years from the time of the exchange of ratifications. This brought to an end the long struggle between France and the United States over the treaties of 1778, which were the main factors in bringing up the questions of intervention and neutrality. The conflict over them resulted in the adoption and maintenance of the policy of non-intervention.

The American policy of isolation and of non-intervention did not develop without conscious direction. It was in part the re-

sult of the discerning and guiding will of statesmen. It did not have an orderly plan of development, but it enjoyed the conscious and deliberate attention and direction of our ablest leaders. Its origin may be assigned in the main to a conscious purpose, and not to circumstance or accident.

Experience, however, played its part. The most instructive lesson in the dangers and consequences of political alliances was the alliance with France. The most influential and celebrated declarations against a policy of alliances were made by Washington and Jefferson, the men who had the most to do with this alliance, and after they had learned their lesson. This experience merely confirmed in concrete form the doctrines held by the fathers of our country.

After the lapse of a century and a half since its ratification, the alliance has some bearing on our foreign relations today. In 1917, when our interests had been sufficiently affected, we went to the support of France, militarily, financially and morally, in the most sanguinary conflict known to man. The decision was made voluntarily, and without any obligation due to a formal alliance. For this reason the association was all the stronger and all the more effective. After the conclusion of the war the United States has had opportunities to continue in time of peace the partnership of the war period. We have refused to adhere to the covenant of the League of Nations, to the treaty which would protect France against foreign aggression, and to the protocol of signature of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This abstention from these international agreements does not connote indifference on the part of the United States. The people have decided that an association for the purpose of winning a war need not be continued as an alliance during times of peace. Policies and points of view of nations change, as do their interests. The experience of the Government under the alliance with France seems to have taught deeply the lesson that it is better to commit ourselves when a contingency arises than to tie our hands by pledges before we know just what our interest may be at a given time.

We do not today observe the form of the alliance in our relations with the people and the Republic of France. But its spirit has grown steadily with the passing of time, and the two greatest republics of the world have been the best of friends and associates in war and in peace, without the necessity of a formal commitment to that effect.

The Origin of the "Open Door"

By DR. A. L. P. DENNIS

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, CLARK UNIVERSITY*

JOHN HAY was the modern sponsor of the doctrine of the "Open Door" in China, but he was not its actual author. As we view the situation in China today, and as we survey the various policies which have been advocated by different interests, it becomes clearer that changes now confront China similar to those which she faced when the doctrine of the Open Door was being advocated. Then the danger was the partition of China among foreign Powers; now it is the danger of partition among various Chinese military chieftains and local political parties composed of native Chinese.

As long ago as 1843 Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, wrote to the American Commissioner in China directing him to signify, in decided terms and a positive manner, that the Government of the United States would find it impossible to remain on terms of friendship and regard with the [Chinese] Emperor if greater privileges or commercial facilities should be allowed to the subjects of any other Government than should be granted to the citizens of the United States.

Thus the principle of the most-favored-nation clause was asserted at an early date. The declaration of the Open Door in 1899 was due to the serious probability that the processes of partition in China would gain strength. Already Japan had humiliated China in war, 1894-5; Germany in 1898 had forced from China the lease of Kiauchau; Russia in similar fashion had occupied Port Arthur; Japan had turned over to Great Britain the temporary occupation of Wei-hai-wei; France was eager to add to her territory in the southeast; and even Italy but just failed to secure a position on the Chinese coast. The process was at work; the partition of China seemed to be certain.

At Washington in 1898 was Secretary Hay, who had just returned from his Ambassadorship in London. While there he had had abundant opportunity to inform himself as to British policy with regard to China. He must have heard the declaration of Open Door principles time and again; and he was aware in a dozen ways of the desire of Great Britain that the United

States should join her in asserting that doctrine as regards China. Indeed, in March, 1898, the British Government confidentially invited the United States to co-operate in opposing any action by foreign Powers in case they should violate the Open Door doctrine, either by procuring the lease of portions of the Chinese coast under conditions which would insure preferential treatment to the Power acquiring such lease, or by obtaining the actual cession of portions of the Chinese littoral. This was in reality a proposal for a joint declaration of the Open Door doctrine in China. To this, however, the United States replied coldly.

President McKinley and Secretary Sherman, though in favor of the Open Door doctrine, doubted the necessity of joint action to maintain it and pointed to the traditional American policy respecting foreign alliances and the avoidance by the United States of European entanglements. So this British invitation was refused. The fundamental and persistent policy of the United States has been and still is to promote the development of Asiatic States, sufficiently strong and stable to stand by themselves. To stimulate trade and to introduce Western education and culture have also been the objects of this policy; but with this has remained the desire to avoid war and to avoid alliances, and combinations with European States which did not share the dominant purpose of America.

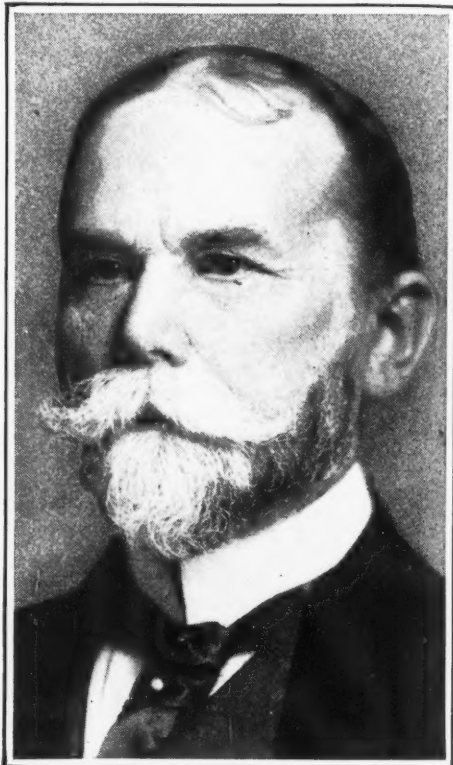
These reasons were sufficient for the time to lead the United States to reject this important and valuable opportunity. Later, however, America chose her own time and way to maintain principles identical with the British proposals. This was done in 1899-1900. Since March, 1898, the Spanish-American War had been fought. Cuba was no longer under Spanish rule; the United States had acquired Porto Rico, Hawaii, islands in Samoa, and, in the Philippines, a great territorial base in the Far East. Thus the attention of America was now directed particularly to China. This new position of the United States had aroused the interest of Europe. Speculation was rife as to possible changes in the Far East.

Soon after the peace with Spain the future of China began to occupy the mind of Secretary Hay. There were two per-

*Based on a forthcoming book—*Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906*—to be published by E. P. Dutton & Co.

sonal influences which were to affect Hay strongly. One was the great reception accorded to Lord Charles Beresford in his trip to China and the importance attached to his book, *The Break-Up of China*. The second and more important influence was the opinion of Mr. Rockhill, who had long been Hay's friend. Mr. Rockhill had been in the American diplomatic service, but was now in Washington as Director of the Pan-American Union. His own interest in China had led the Secretary to use Mr. Rockhill as an unofficial expert on Far Eastern matters. Lord Charles Beresford's book had influenced the critical mind of Rockhill as well, and during the Summer of 1899 he and the Secretary exchanged ideas as to China.

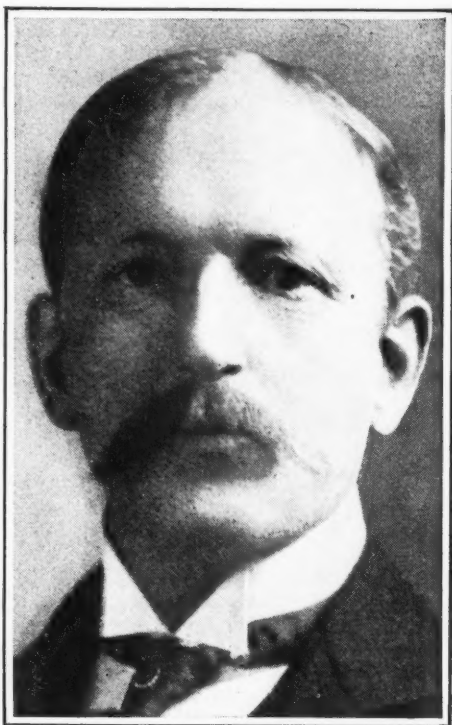
Lord Charles Beresford was a British Admiral, a member of Parliament, with a breezy manner and a gift for talk, who, in the year 1898, had gone out to China unofficially as a representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain. On his trip, which had become



Pach Bros.

JOHN HAY

Secretary of State of the United States,
1898-1905; born 1838, died 1905



Underwood

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL

At different times United States Minister to
China, Ambassador to Russia and Amba-
sador to Turkey; born 1854, died 1915

almost a royal progress, he had preached the doctrine of the Open Door. His views were expressed in a letter to Secretary Hay:

I am glad to tell you that nothing could exceed the cordiality that I have met with from every American citizen out here, and the interest they take in my mission is most gratifying. They have all been in sympathy with the views I communicated to you before I left England. As America has got over 50 per cent. of the import trade into the north of China, it is imperative for American interests, as well as our own, that the policy of the "Open Door" should be maintained. I have every hope that in the near future the suggested commercial alliance between Great Britain and America with reference to the "Open Door" in China, may become an absolute fact.

Secretary Hay entertained the robustious Admiral in Washington in February on his way back to England. During the course of the year Mr. Rockhill had arrived in the United States, and also his friend, Alfred E. Hipplesley, of the Chinese Customs Service. These two men set to work to influ-

ence Secretary Hay to take action regarding the presentation of the old American doctrine of the Open Door in China. Secretary Hay was, of course, fully informed regarding the whole matter, and on Aug. 24, 1899, he suggested, since both men were critical of parts of Beresford's plan, that Mr. Rockhill draft a memorandum on the subject. This he did on Aug. 28, and sent it to the Secretary, saying:

In view of the great weight which Beresford's book seems to have with the American public, I have reviewed in the memorandum the principal points of his work. This shows—if it is necessary to show it—that the policy suggested as that best suited to our interests is not a British one, for England is as great an offender in China as Russia itself.

This memorandum, a copy of which is in the *Hay Papers*, contained the formulation of the American doctrine of the Open Door in almost the exact words used by Secretary Hay in his notes to foreign States, which were sent out on Sept. 6, 1899. The points made by Mr. Rockhill in the heart of his memorandum, which was indeed the child of his brain, bear, therefore, a remarkable similarity to those employed by Secretary Hay ten days later in his note to foreign Powers proposing an agreement as to the "Open Door." Mr. Rockhill wrote:

To this question there can, it seems, be but one answer, we should at once initiate negotiations to obtain from those Powers who have acquired zones of interest in China formal assurance that (1) they will in no way interfere within their so-called spheres of interest with any treaty port or with vested rights in it of any nature; (2) that all ports they may open in their respective spheres shall either be free ports, or that the Chinese treaty tariff at the time in force shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped, no matter to what nationality belonging, and that the dues and duties provided for by treaty shall be collected by the Chinese Government; and (3) that they will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of other nationalities frequenting their ports in such spheres, than shall be levied on their national vessels, and that they will also levy no higher railroad charges on merchandise belonging to or destined for subjects of other Powers transported through their spheres than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationality.

THE HAY NOTE

The essential paragraphs of the Hay note to Great Britain read as follows:

The present moment seems a particularly opportune one for informing her Britannic Majesty's Government of the desire of the

United States to see it make a formal declaration and to lend its support in obtaining similar declarations from the various Powers claiming "spheres of influence" in China, to the effect that each in its respective spheres of interest or influence—

First—Will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second—That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of influence" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third—That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The closeness of the two texts is striking. Mr. Rockhill, therefore, seems to be entitled to a belated but distinguished position among American statesmen. He was particularly fortunate in his friendship with Secretary Hay, for it was he who stood sponsor for these proposals of Rockhill. Indeed, it was the weight and reputation of Secretary Hay which finally won success to this revised version of the doctrine of the Open Door. The skill and adroitness with which the entire matter was handled won respect from foreign diplomats. The negotiation of the affair lay chiefly in the Secretary's hands, though he frequently consulted with Mr. Rockhill.

Thus the United States, on the one hand, avoided joining in a scramble for a share in the plunder of China, and, on the other, refused to join with Great Britain and possibly Germany in a triple agreement with respect to China. The Open Door doctrine, though it was perhaps but an expedient, and was later to become something of a fiction, served the United States both politically and commercially fully as well as any such triple combination would have done. Until 1921-22, when the doctrine was embodied in a treaty, the idea of the Open Door was exposed to every wind that blew; but in 1899 those winds were favoring trade winds.



Europe's New Network of Alliances

By WALTER RUSSELL BATSELL

FORMER EDITOR OF *The European Economic and Political Survey*, PARIS

THE saying by La Fontaine, *Chassez le naturel, il revient au galop*, has another version in the statement "History repeats itself." The underlying fact, so concisely stated, is being reproduced again by European political alignments, by the diplomatic struggle for supremacy on the Continent, by the balance of power doctrine which reached its apotheosis in the eighteenth century.

At the outbreak of the war in 1914, Europe was divided into two opposing major alliances. A balance of power prevailed on the Continent. The only uncertain element facing European statecraft was the British Empire. That empire proved unable to remain aloof from a struggle at its very door.

Certain changes occurred once the war began. Italy was the shining example. She needed many *quid pro quo's* before entering into any conflict which would bring the British fleet against her. Besides this, the Allied Powers could promise her more Austrian territory than Austria herself cared to hand over as blackmail, even to an ally. Though, on March 11, 1914, four months before war broke out, Italy had agreed to send two divisions of cavalry and three army corps to fight with the Austrians and Germany on the Russian front in case of a war affecting her two allies, once the war came she saw that her interests lay with the Allied Powers. She denounced her alliance with Austria-Hungary; on May 23, 1915, she entered the war against her former partners.

Rumania, allied to Austria-Hungary by a treaty renewed March 5, 1913, likewise decided to change sides. On Aug. 4, 1916, she signed a treaty of alliance and a military convention with the Allied Powers and entered the war on their side ten days later.

Greece, in 1913, signed an alliance with Serbia. Once the war broke out she was under no obligation to abide by its terms, for, instead of a war against Bulgaria as foreseen by the alliance, Serbia was at war with Austria-Hungary. Further, Serbia could not place the 150,000 men in the field as required by joint Greek-Serb military operations provided for by the alliance.

Finally, among the Allied Powers themselves there occurred one alliance about which little is known. On July 3, 1916,

Russia and Japan signed a convention providing for cooperation in the Far East. At the same time a secret agreement was entered into which provided for common action against any Power likely to establish political domination in China and having hostile designs against either Russia or Japan. In other words, this treaty was directed against the United States, who had not then entered the war, and possibly against Great Britain.

Once the war started by a secret society at Sarajevo was over, the question of security and balance of power continued to haunt the minds of European statesmen. Almost at once France turned to the new States created in Europe. Those States became satellites of French policy; at the same time they formed alliances with one another.

The first French alliance was with Belgium. The futility of the neutralization treaties of 1839 was recognized in the Versailles Treaty. Belgium herself decided henceforth to be a Power with a greater basis for existence than serving as a strategic buffer State for Great Britain. Her destinies as a national State are, in the case of any difficulty with Germany, inseparably linked with those of France. Recognizing this fact, the general staffs of the Belgium and French armies, on Sept. 7, 1920, entered into a military understanding "to reinforce the guaranties of peace and security resulting from the Covenant of the League of Nations." This convenient phraseology, so often used in the case of later alliances, means in brief that in case of war with Germany the two armies will act as one.

Next to Belgium, France is more closely connected with Poland than with any other State. Germany is the common enemy of both; by all rules of checkerboard diplomacy the two are destined to be friends, even though, in many respects, they may not be friendly. In the words of a well-known political observer, "*Les alliances se font entre ennemis ou contre un ennemi commun.*" (W. Morton Fullerton in *Le Figaro Hebdomadaire*, Feb. 9, 1927.) This basic fact is borne out in the case of every one of the alliances described in this account. An alliance between France and Poland was signed on

Feb. 19, 1921. The two countries announced their desire to safeguard peace in Europe, to assure the security and defense of their territory and to further their general political interests. All questions of foreign policy interesting both parties were to be agreed upon in common. Finally, in case of an attack on either, the two will act in concert in order to defend their territory and to safeguard their interests.

Later alliances are similar to the foregoing. What, in brief, do they mean? As a matter of fact, the Allied Powers, representing victors in the war, announce that they will fight to preserve the *status quo*. To take the alliance of France and Poland as an illustration: If France were attacked by Germany, Poland would be expected to come to her assistance. If Poland were attacked by either Germany or Russia—two losers in the last war—French assistance would be expected to preserve the *status quo* and, incidentally, to protect French interests.

French alliances may be left for the moment. The field is taken by alignments between the States of Central Europe, alliances which were a natural development but which owe their formation in no small part to the policy of the Quai d'Orsay, or its master, Philippe Berthelot.

The members of the Little Entente have held frequent conferences to discuss ques-

tions affecting them. They have agreed on a common plan of action in their relations with neighboring States. To make their policy binding, they have entered into a series of defensive alliances and military conventions which have been periodically renewed. The list is rather long and is given herewith only in outline form:

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—Defensive alliance, signed at Belgrade on Aug. 14, 1921.

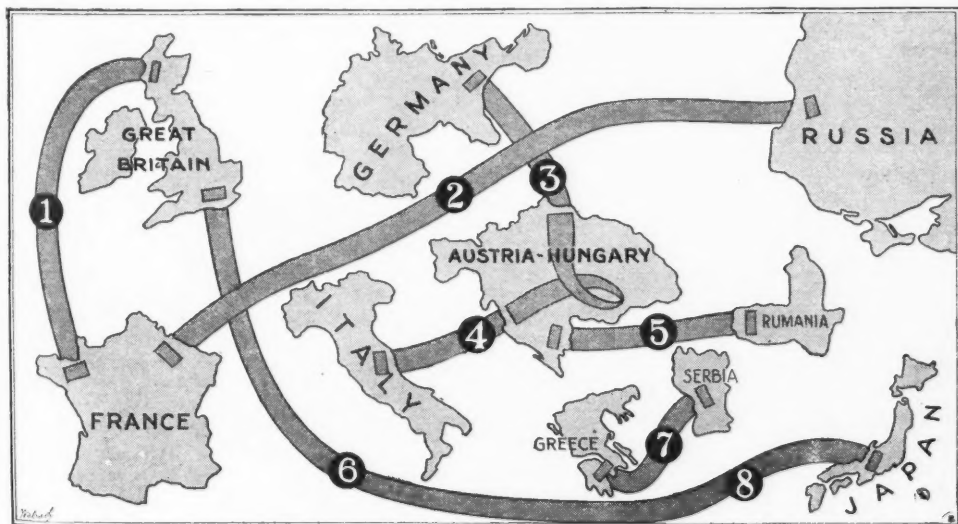
Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—Military convention, signed at Prague on Aug. 14, 1921, concerned with technical measures to insure the execution of the defensive alliance.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—Convention renewing and extending scope of alliance of Aug. 14, 1920, signed at Marianske Laznem on Aug. 31, 1922. Alliance of 1920, and also presumably the military convention extended for five years. Political and diplomatic support in their international relations. Economic cooperation.

Czechoslovakia and Rumania—Defensive alliance military convention directed particularly against Hungary, signed at Bucharest on April 23, 1921.

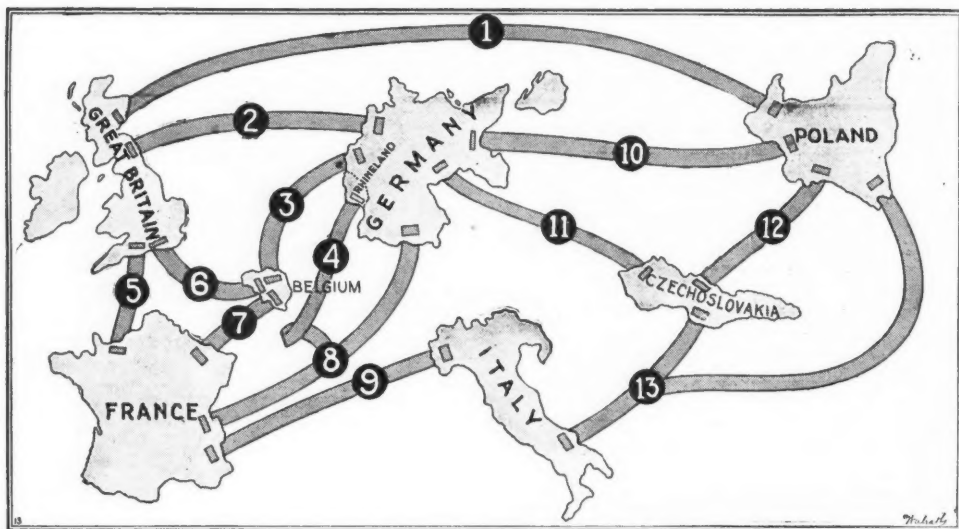
Rumania and Yugoslavia—Defensive alliance and military convention directed against Hungary and Bulgaria, signed at Bucharest on June 7, 1921.

What, briefly, do these treaties mean? They are directed against any possible attempt on the part of Bulgaria or Hungary to recover lost territory. A wider application is not secured until the treaties concluded by France with each member of the



EUROPEAN ALLIANCES IN 1914

(1) Discussion of policy in case of an unprovoked attack; (2) Common action in case of any question affecting general peace; (3 and 4) Common action in case of attack by two or more Great Powers; (5) Mutual assistance in case of attack by neighboring States; (6 and 8) Mutual assistance in case of unprovoked attack in Eastern Asia and India; (7) Mutual assistance in case of attack by Bulgaria



THE LOCARNO AGREEMENTS

(1) In case of a war of aggression by one Power, all the other Powers shall assist the Power attacked; (2) Great Britain shall assist Germany if attacked by France; (3, 6 and 7) Inviolability and guaranty of Belgian frontiers; (4) The Rhineland neutralized and demilitarized; (5) Great Britain will assist France if attacked by Germany; (8) Locarno agreements; (9) Italy will assist France if attacked by Germany; (10 and 11) Arbitration treaties under the guarantee of France; (12) Mutual assistance in case of attack by a Power signatory to the agreements; (13) Italy shall assist Czechoslovakia and Poland if they are attacked

Little Entente are brought into operation. But what is to the interest of the Little Entente in Central Europe is likewise against natural enemies who may be allied later—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. The Czechoslovak army, the Rumanian army, the Yugoslav army—all are potential parts of a French army. Together with Poland, the grouping is of far-reaching significance.

Before returning to the French alliances, one other alignment needs to be mentioned—that of Poland and Rumania. Poland is not a member of the Little Entente. On March 26, 1926, Poland and Rumania signed a treaty of guaranty which renewed the defensive alliance of March 3, 1921, and went further. Instead of a defensive agreement covering "present Eastern frontiers" of the two States as mentioned in the 1921 convention, the new treaty pledges mutual support in case of "all foreign aggression." Thus Rumania must assist Poland in the event of a war against Germany, as well as in a war against Russia.

THE LOCARNO AGREEMENTS

When the Locarno agreements were signed they were hailed as the end of war as long as the treaty system then built up remained in force. But it is to be remem-

bered that these agreements are not all inclusive, and that they do not cover the real zones where a conflict is likely to occur. Once a war breaks out in a field not covered by the Locarno treaties and the Powers signatory to them become engaged, those instruments *ipso facto* have little value. Then, it is to be remembered that the Locarno agreements are essentially international in character. When the war test comes it is bi-lateral, or what in contrast to the Locarno instruments may be called national agreements, against "unprovoked aggression," which historically determine the alignment of Powers. The national agreements are quite foreign to the general scope of the documents signed at Locarno. Stated in terms of 1914 diplomacy, Locarno symbolizes agreements guaranteeing neutrality, agreements which were treated as scraps of paper by the Allies and Germany alike. The present system of alliances and military understandings, on the other hand, represents the two great systems of competing alliances which existed in 1914 and which prevailed when the test came.

The nature of the Locarno agreements is given in outline in the accompanying map. They should be compared with the treaties of alliance illustrated later.

Separate from treaties of alliance or the

Locarno agreements stand two entirely different series of treaties. On the one hand are the plain arbitration and conciliation conventions, which are numerous indeed. Next comes what may be called the Moscow treaty system—treaties of friendship and neutrality which the Soviet Government has signed with Turkey, Germany, Persia and Afghanistan. Then there is one treaty which is a hybrid between the two, namely, the treaty of conciliation and neutrality signed by the Italian and Spanish Governments on Aug. 7, 1926.

Brief mention may be made of this neutrality provision. The German-Soviet treaty of April 24, 1926, contains a neutrality article worded thus: "In case one of the contracting parties, despite its peaceful attitude, is attacked by one or more third parties the other contracting party shall observe neutrality during the entire conflict."

The Turkish-Soviet treaty, signed on Dec. 17, 1925, similarly provides that: "Each contracting party undertakes to refrain from any attack against the other party and not to participate in any alliance or agreement of a political character with one or more third Powers directed against the other contracting party. Moreover, each contracting party undertakes not to participate in any hostile act on the part of one or several Powers against the other contracting party."

Finally, the Italian-Spanish treaty runs as follows: "If one of the contracting parties, in spite of its position, is attacked by a third Power, the other contracting party shall observe neutrality during the period of the conflict."

The German-Soviet treaty was strongly criticized at the time on the ground that Germany would not be able to remain neutral once she was a member of the League of Nations, for Articles 16 and 17 of the League Covenant oblige all League members to take common action against an aggressor Power. The signature of such treaty by the Soviet Government was regarded as only another attack on the League. But when Italy and Spain adopted a similar provision in their treaty the neutrality clause had to be regarded as permissible and even as respectable.

Because of the different categories of treaties in existence, it is difficult to show on a single map the various treaty relations. An attempt, however, is made to do this in the map reproduced on page 658 of this magazine. Important treaties of arbitration and conciliation which have alliance possibilities are indicated

by a double line. Treaties of "defensive alliance" and military understanding are shown by a straight line. Treaties of friendship and neutrality, the Moscow system, are indicated by a broken line. The military understanding reported to exist between France, Poland and Rumania as mentioned elsewhere is not shown as such. Finally, treaties guaranteeing the *status quo*, but in no sense between allies or Powers likely later to be allies, are shown by a broken line.

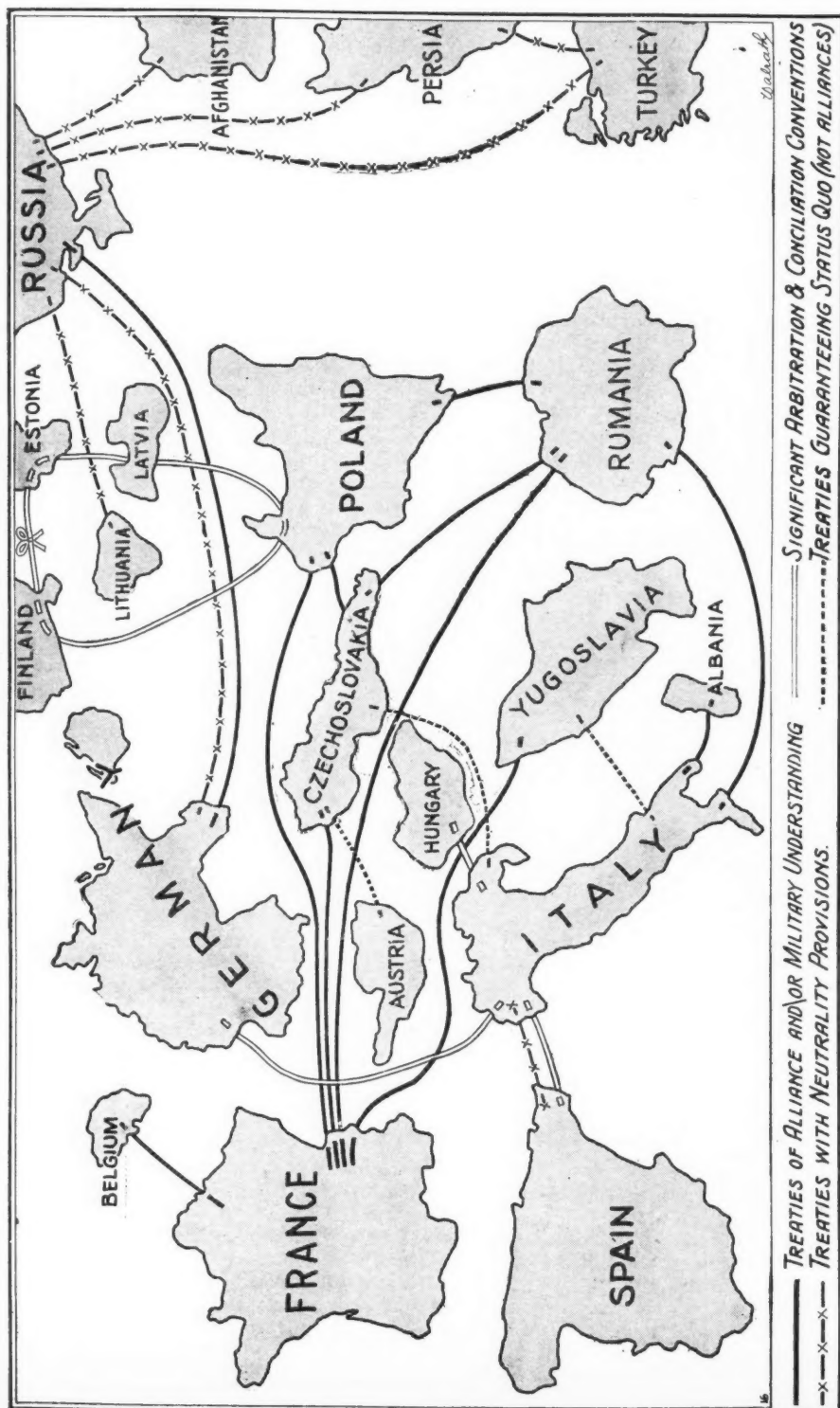
The network of alliances as already indicated may be demonstrated now in its practical setting. Paris, Rome and the Little Entente capitals all form the keystone of the alliance arch. The Locarno agreements form a separate arch.

To begin with France. She has, as already mentioned, a general alliance and a military convention obliging her to assist Poland in case of an attack on the latter by Germany or Russia. She has an alliance with Rumania which obliges her to take all measures short of war in assisting that country in case of a conflict with Russia. But in this case a direct military convention with Rumania would not be necessary, for Poland and Rumania are bound by an alliance and a military convention to assist each other in case of an attack by Russia on either. Thus, if Russia attacked Rumania, Poland would be brought into the conflict, and France in turn would be obliged to aid Poland. The disputed territory of Bessarabia now under Rumanian occupation makes any alliance with Rumania a link of many possible complications.

Then, there seems to be no reason to doubt but that the reported military convention between Poland and Rumania, with France as a virtual third party, is in existence. The recent French-Rumanian treaty is sufficiently elastic in phraseology to include it within its scope.

Next, France has an alliance and a military convention with Czechoslovakia aimed principally against Hungary and Germany and a union of Austria with Germany. The two countries agree to "concert upon" measures to be taken in common, a stronger expression than used in certain other French alliances. France needed allies badly at the time of the Ruhr occupation, and the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister put off signing an alliance to such a time as he could secure the insertion of positive terms.

The latest of the alliances signed by France is the so-called treaty of friendship



with Yugoslavia, dated Nov. 11, 1927. This treaty is intended to safeguard the *status quo*. Its most significant provision runs thus: "If, despite their sincerely pacific intentions, the Governments of France and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State find themselves attacked without provocation on their part, without delay the two Governments shall concert upon their respective action to be taken within the scope of the Covenant of the League of Nations with a view to protecting their legitimate national interests and the maintenance of order established by the treaties to which they are signatory." In other words, France becomes an open ally of Yugoslavia; as such she opposes Italian predominance in the Balkans.

To sum up the French alliances, France will be involved in the case of any Russian attack on either Rumania or Poland or both. She is bound to defend Poland and Czechoslovakia against Germany. She is to aid in preventing any desire of Hungary to alter her badly drawn frontiers.

Next, the Little Entente must be mentioned. The Polish-Rumanian alliance and military convention as mentioned already do not figure here. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia are concerned. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are bound by a defensive alliance and a presumably offensive military convention. Any trouble with Hungary would involve these two States simultaneously. Czechoslovakia likewise has an alliance with Rumania, it being directed particularly against Hungary. Finally, Rumania and Yugoslavia are bound to act together in case of difficulties with either Hungary or Bulgaria.

ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY

As a counter-force to the French treaties stands the Italian system of post-war alignments. Disunited internally, Italy was unable to secure her full demands at the peace conference in 1919. Since the advent of a strong Government she has attempted to reassert her position as a world Power. The high points of Italian foreign policy are (1) the arbitration and conciliation convention signed with Spain, together with an understanding regarding Tangier; (2) a treaty of alliance with Rumania; (3) a treaty of arbitration and friendship with Germany; (4) a treaty establishing in fact an Italian protectorate over Albania, and later a military alliance, and (5) a treaty of friendship, conciliation and arbitration

with Hungary. The agreement with Germany is in terms nothing more or less than an arbitration and conciliation convention. It gives Italy all the advantages of asserting herself as a big Power and of juggling for her own interest with German-French or French-Italian relations as the occasion may warrant without assuming any responsibility in return. The treaty of friendship and arbitration with Hungary is another step toward Italy's increasing her influence in Central Europe and completely isolating Yugoslavia. Alliances with Bulgaria and Greece, already under discussion, would complete the circle.

The Albanian episode stands in a class by itself. By treaty Italy has established what was before in practice a reality and what had even been promised her by that mysterious body called the Conference of Ambassadors; she exercises a protectorate over Albania. A supplementary treaty dated Nov. 22, 1927, provides for a real military alliance.

From French, Central European, and Italian alignments, the scene shifts to the Baltic area. Baltic politics are as complicated as the Balkan politics. In the present alignments it is difficult to determine how each Power stands and, above all, what grouping would result in case of a war between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Poland on the other. Changes of Ministries bring such drastic alterations of foreign policy as to affect even international agreements.

The Soviet Union signed with Lithuania a treaty of friendship and neutrality on Sept. 28, 1926. The treaty was currently interpreted as being directed against Poland; it specifically recognized that Vilna does not belong to the latter. Finland has never cooperated full-heartedly with the other Baltic States. She has turned to Scandinavia for support; she has followed a neutral attitude *vis-a-vis* Russia; she has been openly pro-German. But she has made no definite alignments. Latvia and Estonia now have a customs union, but in other respects they have been unable to determine upon a common line of action. Finally, as shown on the map, the so-called Baltic States, including Poland but excluding Lithuania, are now bound by a general arbitration and conciliation convention. All attempts to establish a united policy against Soviet Russia have failed.

Such, approached from several angles, is the status of political alignments in Europe at present.

Germany's Burdens Under the Peace Settlements

By COUNT MAX MONTGELAS

CO-EDITOR OF *German Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the World War*

THE establishment of peace in Europe can be brought about only by the solution of two problems. The first of these problems comprises three different parts: Disarmament, security and arbitration. The second problem is that of reparations.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the three questions of disarmament, security and arbitration form an "interdependent whole," but opinions are extremely divergent as to the best way in which to bring them into operation. France and her allies—Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia—are of opinion that the question of security is of importance only so far as they themselves are concerned, and that it is of no consequence to the disarmed States, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is just the latter for whom this security is of paramount importance. France and her allies declare that disarmament, or more correctly reduction of armaments, is practicable only when security and arbitration have become established facts, and no gap whatever is left open for any future war. On the other hand, the five disarmed States—Germany, Austria, Dantzig, Hungary and Bulgaria—are united in considering that during the last few years so much has been done for security and arbitration that it is now high time that some steps should be taken to bring about a general and equal reduction of armaments. Germany lays particular stress on the fact that immense progress was made toward the pacification of the European continent through the treaties and conventions of Locarno, which were signed on Dec. 1, 1925, and which came into force when Germany was admitted as a member of the League of Nations on Sept. 8, 1926.

Those treaties and conventions consist of: (a) A "Western Pact," concluded between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy; (b) Arbitration conventions between Germany and her Western and Eastern neighbors. If the diplomatic and juridical wording of these documents is translated into every-day language their principal stipulations may be summed up as follows:

1—Articles 1 and 2 of the Western Pact guarantee that the now existing frontiers of Germany, on the one side, and of France and Belgium on the other side, cannot be violated by aggression, invasion or war. They also guarantee that the frontiers of the demilitarized German zone cannot be crossed by military forces of either party. These articles, however, do not exclude the right of self-determination.

2—Article 3 stipulates that the procedure agreed to for the settlement of international disputes applies also to such differences as might arise between Germany, on the one hand, and France and Belgium on the other, with regard to the Versailles Treaty and the Rhineland Convention.

3—According to Articles 4 and 5, each of the High Contracting Parties guarantees the loyal execution of the Western Pact.

4—As to Germany's Eastern frontiers, no special guarantee is given, but the arbitration conventions between Germany and her Eastern neighbors (Czechoslovakia and Poland) are exactly the same as those with France and Belgium.

5—The arbitration conventions stipulate that all disputes of any kind which might arise between Germany and one of her four neighbors—Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland—with regard to their respective rights, and which it may not be possible to settle amicably by the normal methods of diplomacy, shall be submitted for decision either to an arbitral tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The results of this analysis are as follows:

a. With regard to protection against wanton aggression such protection is guaranteed in the same way to both parties. *Theoretically* Great Britain and Italy are pledged to assist Germany, as well as France or Belgium, in case of an unprovoked attack. *Practically*, however, the protection granted will not be and cannot be the same, as long as France with her allies possesses an army far superior in number to any other military combination in Europe. "Equal Reduction of Armaments" is therefore an indispensable condition, without which the Western Pact cannot be fully operative.

b. As to demilitarized zones the treaty is unilateral. Such a zone exists only on the German side on both banks of the Rhine, extending over an area of about 21,000 square miles with no less than 14,000,000 in-

habitants, that is to say, a territory as large as Belgium and Holland together.

c. The treaty also involves heavy unilateral territorial sacrifices for Germany, for she solemnly promises never to retake by force Alsatia from France, or Eupen and Malmédy from Belgium. The impression prevails that the importance of these territorial sacrifices, which are without precedent in the history of civilized nations, is not yet realized in other countries.

THE SABOTAGE OF DISARMAMENT

In the final protocol of the Locarno Conference much emphasis is laid on the fact that the Locarno Treaties and Conventions are calculated in a high degree to render possible an equal disarmament according to the Covenant of the League of Nations. This protocol, signed by the Foreign Ministers of Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Poland and Czechoslovakia, declares:

The representatives of the Governments represented here declare their firm conviction that the entry into force of these treaties and conventions will contribute greatly to bring about a moral relaxation of the tension between nations * * * and that in strengthening peace and security in Europe it will *hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations*. They undertake to give their sincere cooperation in the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League of Nations, *and to seek the realization thereof in a general agreement*.

In spite of this solemn promise, the armed States have done nothing toward reducing their armaments. The Conference on Disarmament at Geneva which came to an end at the beginning of December has fulfilled the worst expectations. The majority of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission accepted the French thesis that the subject of security should be once more brought up for discussion, before the question of disarmament should be dealt with. In all probability this means that the now prevailing untenable condition in the overwhelming disproportion of armaments on the European Continent will continue to exist.

This state of affairs may be summed up as follows: Germany enlists 8,000 recruits per annum; France enlists 330,000. The war strength of the German Army is 100,000 men; that of the French Army is from five to six millions. The proportion is one to sixty. If one takes into consideration the population of these two States, the proportion is actually one to ninety, for in time of war there is one soldier for each seven in-

habitants in France, but in Germany there is only one for every 630 inhabitants. The four disarmed States—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria—numbering 82,000,000 inhabitants, enlist together some 15,000 recruits per annum; the war strength of their four armies is 185,000. France and her allies enlist 680,000 men per annum; the war strength of their combined armies is from 11 to 12 millions.

Still worse is the proportion of war material between the armed and the disarmed States. Germany, as well as Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria are forbidden to possess any of the most important weapons of modern warfare, such as heavy guns, tanks, airplanes, poison gases, and so forth. Nobody who is acquainted with these figures will deny that such a situation is intolerable, that it is absolutely opposed to real peace and that it means permanent military, and consequently also political and economic, thralldom for 82,000,000 Europeans.

France and her allies have done nothing and have no intention of doing anything to reduce the *war* strength of their armies. It is true that France has diminished the *peace* strength by reducing the period of military service. But the number of men enlisted per annum has not only remained the same, but has even been increased. Consequently the so-called reduction of French armaments is an illusion. The important point is not the *peace* strength, but the *war* strength, which depends on the militarily trained reserves, and on the war material stocked in readiness for these reserves.

OCCUPATION FORCES IN RHINELAND

It is irreconcilable with the fundamental idea of a true League of Nations that one member of the League should maintain armed forces on the territory of another member. It is even contrary to the Treaty of Versailles to continue to occupy German territory with armed forces. It is true that the treaty provides for the occupation of three zones of the Rhineland for periods of five, ten and fifteen years, respectively, but Article 431 runs as follows: "If Germany before the expiration of the period of fifteen years complies with all the undertakings resulting for her from the present treaty, the occupation force will be withdrawn immediately." It must be noted that the article says: "*If Germany complies,*" not "*if Germany has complied.*" From this it is quite clear that financial obligations which extend over a period of time longer than fifteen years are not here referred to. Well, then, Germany does not only comply,

but she *has* complied with all the territorial, political, military and commercial undertaking resulting from the Versailles Treaty. As to her financial obligations, they were settled separately in 1924 by the Dawes plan, and Germany has complied with them since that year without default. If France and her Allies are of the opinion that Germany does not comply with her undertakings, a dispute would arise which, according to the Arbitration Conventions of Locarno, ought to be submitted either to an arbitral tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Are France and her allies prepared to do so?

At any rate, after the Locarno treaties had come into force, the occupying troops ought to have been considerably reduced. On Nov. 16, 1925, in a note signed by Minister Briand, the Interallied Ambassadors' Conference at Paris promised that the troops should be reduced to a number of approximately "normal strength." "Normal strength" can mean only the strength of the German troops in 1914. At that time, in the territories now occupied by foreign troops, Germany had only 45,000 men facing France, who was armed to the teeth. Today the allied troops in these same territories number not less than 60,000 men facing Germany, which is disarmed to the very marrow. In the course of the two years since the solemn promise of Nov. 16, 1925, only 10,000 men of the British, French and Belgian troops have been withdrawn, thus diminishing the size of the army of occupation from 70,000 to 60,000 men. If, however, France and Belgium are of the opinion that the phrase "normal strength" can have another meaning than is given to it in Germany, then again a dispute would have risen which ought to be settled according to the principles of the Arbitration Convention of Locarno.

When, at the end of 1922, it became evident that France, in spite of her gigantic army, her alliances with Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and Germany's complete disarmament, insisted on further "guarantees of security," the German Government proposed that a "Rhine Pact" should be concluded between the four principally interested Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. France, supported by Belgium, under the pretext that Germany had not fulfilled some reparation obligations of minor importance, replied on Jan. 11, 1923, by the invasion of the Ruhr district, and gave no response to two subsequent treaty proposals made by the Berlin Cabinet in May and September. The



COUNT MAX MONTGELAS

United States disapproved of this Franco-Belgian aggression, and recalled its troops from the Rhineland in the Spring of 1923. Also the British Government, in a note of Aug. 11, 1923, declared the occupation of the Ruhr to be incompatible with the Versailles Treaty.

The invaders of the Ruhr seized State and private property, appropriated cash and bank deposits, railroad material and inland water craft, cut down forests, expelled more than 120,000 inhabitants and did a total damage of several billion gold marks. Finally, Germany, owing to the complete ruin of her finances and the collapse of her currency, was obliged to relinquish her only weapon of passive resistance.

THE DAWES PLAN—ITS DIFFICULTIES

At the last moment the wholesale cataclysm of the economic life of Germany, as well as that of the rest of the Continent, was averted by the appointment of an international committee of financial experts under the auspices of the United States at the end of November, 1923. The Dawes Plan, agreed to by the Powers concerned in April, 1924, came into force at the London Conference at the end of August of the same year. This plan was the first step

toward real peace since November, 1918. It saved Germany and the rest of the European Continent from complete economic ruin. The annual payments for five successive years to be made by Germany were fixed as follows (the sums given are calculated in millions of marks):

	Budget.	Rwy., Incl. Transport	Indus- trial Deben- tures.	Loan.	Total.
1924-25...	...	200	...	800	1,000
1925-26...	...	1,095	125	...	1,220
1926-27...	110	840	250	...	1,200
1927-28...	500	950	300	...	1,750
1928-29...	1,250	950	300	...	2,500

These figures subsequently underwent certain alterations, the most important of which was that Germany, in view of the good results of her import duties, was obliged, according to the stipulations of the plan, to pay several hundred million gold marks more for the third and fourth years. The payment of the fifth year remains unaltered. With this year beginning on Sept. 1, 1928, and ending on Aug. 31, 1929, the "standard year" is reached, that is to say, from this point onward Germany is obliged to pay every year to the Allies the same sum of 2,500,000,000 gold marks (about \$600,000,000), half of this to come out of the current budget by means of taxes and duties. The normal payment of \$600,000,000 is likely to be increased if it is proved through a "prosperity index" that Germany's prosperity shows signs of considerable improvement.

A number of experts are doubtful as to whether Germany will be in a position to* carry such a burden for any length of time.* The experts of the Dawes Plan have estimated that Germany's annual national income, which in the first year, 1924-25, was assessed at 25,000,000,000 gold marks, in the fifth year will have increased to 40,-

000,000,000 gold marks. Even if this very optimistic calculation proves to be correct, it means that from next year on the German people will have to pay $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their annual income to foreign Powers. In other words, every German must work twenty-three days each year for foreign countries. Should the national income increase to only 35,000,000,000 gold marks, then the number of days of work done for foreign countries would be raised to twenty-six.

Great difficulties are also bound to ensue with regard to the question of the transfer of payments to other countries. The only means of payments to foreign countries is by the conveyance of goods across the frontier. "Cash" payments constitute a danger for the currency of the paying country. On the other hand, conveyance of goods across the frontier means competition in export trade. It is obvious that neither a second collapse of the German currency nor an immense increase of German exports is in the interest of the trade of the Allies; consequently, they must prevent cash payments as well as huge deliveries of goods. As the result of these considerations M. Caillaux, the financial expert of France, in a letter of Oct. 29 to the editor of the leading Austrian newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*, expressed the opinion that the financial problems resulting from the war ought to be settled sooner or later on a new basis.

The indispensable conditions for the establishment of permanent peace on the European Continent are then:

a. Evacuation of the Rhineland;

b. Reduction of land armaments on a fair and just basis, which on the one hand grants each State the necessary minimum for self-defense against wanton aggression, and on the other hand no longer tolerates gigantic armaments incompatible with Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations;

c. Reconsideration of the Dawes Plan at the end of the first "standard year" of German payments.

*S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations, recently issued a statement and a report severely criticising Germany's financial policy as endangering reparations, and suggesting that a definite total be fixed and Germany left free to liquidate it.



The Polish Corridor as an Obstacle To Peace

By FREDERICK C. LINFIELD

FORMER MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE
EAST AFRICAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION

A RECENT visit to Germany, undertaken principally for the study of industrial conditions, impressed upon me the economic injury and the danger to peace contained in the present delimitation of Germany's Eastern frontiers. I refer, of course, to the impossible "corridor" which separates Eastern from Western Prussia. The question is not a simple one, and it does not help toward a solution to approach it in a violently polemical spirit. The framers of the Peace Treaty were faced with a multiplicity of problems incapable of a completely satisfactory solution and they had to carry out their task in an atmosphere and under conditions unfavorable to permanent decisions. To say that the Treaty of Versailles cannot represent a final settlement of European boundaries is merely to say that it was the work of fallible men. What follows? "Immediate treaty revision," say the enthusiasts; but such a policy would merely invite a repetition of old errors in a new form. The imposition of a peace upon Germany in 1919 was unavoidable; the imposition of a revised peace on Poland today, if it were practicable, would produce chaos. Europe is moving away from the war mind. We have gained a new perspective and a new sense of values since tired and overstrung statesmen looked out upon the battlefields of Europe. Our appeal is no longer to the rights of the victor; we are concerned rather with the common good. A pro-German or a pro-Polish solution is condemned by its very title. The problem must ultimately be solved in the interests of Europe as a whole.

A glance at the map of new Europe shows at once that the frontiers are not the result of a plain consideration of geographical facts. Nor was it possible that they should be. The history of Poland, written in blood and tears, weighed upon the conscience of Europe. Her claim to be "a nation once again" was indisputable, and nobody today disputes it. Poland, then, was bound to figure on the map of new Europe. That map, however, presents a queer appearance if we glance toward the Baltic Sea. We find Prussia bisected. It abruptly ends to make

room for a narrow strip of Polish territory, and then Prussia begins again. So much is clear from the map. If you visit, as I have done, that little corner of Europe, you will find that the delimitation of frontiers has taken place in disregard of the most elementary considerations of economic convenience. Two motives clearly actuated the framers of the peace. One was the feeling that the new State must have an outlet to the sea. That is a reasonable claim and I shall refer to it later. The other motive was frankly penal. Germany must be punished. That was a very natural, indeed, inevitable, sentiment, granted the conditions of 1918-19. We are not called upon now to discuss its ethical soundness, because the matter will be decided for us on other grounds. To put it bluntly, punishment does not pay. Man may divide Europe as he will, but in certain essentials God has made her one. The blow that is struck at one great economic unit hits the whole body. The nine years since the war have been more than enough to prove that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. More and more these facts are being recognized. The very Peace Treaty, which is so largely in its general provisions an embodiment of the *lex talionis*, contains within itself the Covenant of the League of Nations, which is a witness to a saner and more fruitful conception of international relationships. The League represents the attempt of Europe to visualize its problems as a single body; its underlying assumptions are the very antithesis of those which dictated the partition of Prussia, and one or the other must perish. Two master errors vitiate the present settlement—the impracticable desire to punish and the subordination of economic to strategic factors. These two last named are irreconcilable, and if the League of Nations means anything it should mean a practical attempt to get the military obsession out of the way, to allow nations to concentrate upon their own life instead of seeking their neighbor's death.

To dub this line of reasoning anti-Polish is to be blind to the central facts of the sit-

uation. Europe has a duty to the Poles. We have admitted the justice of their claim to nationhood. We have set them on their feet with all the inevitable difficulties which a new nation has to face. Such a State can live only with the good-will of her neighbors and by the economic use of her own resources. Poland is organizing a powerful army for the defence, it is said, of her Russian frontiers, but with an eye, as all the world knows, on the German frontier, too. But what are the chances of maintaining those frontiers permanently by force against a Germany which has never accepted them save under duress, and in face of a world which acknowledges, as it must, their injustice? As an economic proposition the cost to Poland and France—assuming France to remain in her present state of mind—of maintaining an army capable of defending the *status quo* must be crippling. We must take long views in this matter. Germany of today is one thing and Germany in ten or twenty years' time will be very different. Can we seriously hope to impose the present position upon her? The inevitable result of an unfairly treated Germany and an ostracized Russia is a union of their forces, and that means a new

war. Who, then, will be Poland's friend? Would Great Britain go to war to maintain a frontier, drawn up in an atmosphere of passion and exhausted nerves and condemned by the conscience of the country? I claim to write as a sincere friend of Poland, holding the only language which an honest friend can sincerely hold at the moment.

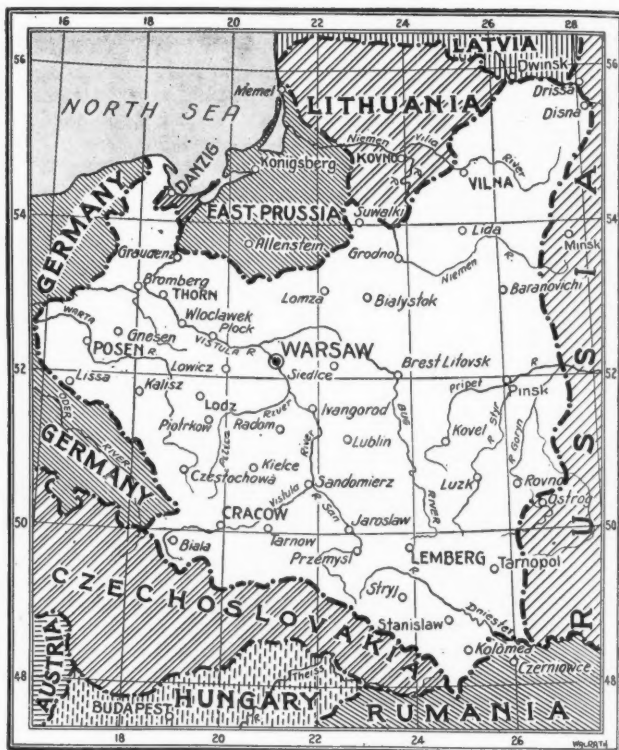
Any attempt to direct intelligent opinion in Great Britain to the importance of these matters will fail if it becomes a mere echo of German propaganda, and it will deserve to fail if it is accompanied by sneers at the Poles for not possessing qualities which historic injustices have given them no opportunity to develop. The appeal to ancient history and highly debatable questions of ethnology will leave the British public cold, while the well informed are perfectly well aware that such arguments carried to their logical conclusion would involve more intimate changes than a rectification of Germany's Eastern frontiers. The test to be applied is the practical one, as anybody must realize who has been over the ground. I pass by, too, the juridical questions arising out of the interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles itself, though clearly they are



Map showing the Polish corridor, indicated by vertical ruling

not unimportant. None of these questions arises when a plain business man finds a colliery works in Germany and the coal underground in the territory of the Poles, who levy a royalty on all coal mined. When he sees industrial concerns hampered by the cutting off of other minerals in the same way, he knows that economic facts have been ignored and that some other set of considerations has overruled them. The economic facts, however, will govern the material existence of the people. To appreciate the force of what I saw in October one has only to imagine a wedge driven through Yorkshire or any of England's Northern industrial counties, dividing men of the same nationality from one another, setting up customs barriers, requiring passports and cutting off direct communication with London. Stagnation and delay are the inevitable results of such a policy.

The history of the railway bridge across the Vistula, near Marienwerder-Muensterwalde, is one of many which demonstrate the actual mischief that is done. This bridge, about two-thirds of a mile long, was built twenty years ago at a cost of nearly \$2,500,000. One of the largest of its kind, it was ceded in its entire length to Poland under the boundary clauses of the Versailles Treaty as a bridgehead. The railway communication had to be discontinued and the bridge served only for road traffic and pedestrians. It is the only bridge between Graudenz in the South and Dirschau in the North that connects East Prussia with Poland across the Vistula. Now the Polish Government has informed the German Foreign Office that the turnpike road across the bridge is to be closed and the bridge itself done away with on the ostensible ground that the traffic along this frontier is not proportionate to the cost of maintaining the frontier and toll authorities. Whether we accept this explanation or pay regard to the strategic consideration which doubtless provoked the decision the moral is the same. The consequences of the destruction of the bridge will be serious for Poles as well as for Germans, imperiling as



Map of Poland

it does the defensive measures against flooding. The inhabitants of five villages, now become Polish, on the right bank of the Vistula, are liable at high water and ice drift to be cut off completely from Poland.

Examples could be multiplied. Deutsch-Eylau, a city once flourishing, has become a waste, its three railway lines dismantled, with grass growing over the disused tracks and on three main roads which once were busy thoroughfares. Garnsee once had six flourishing animal markets, and booths were let at a rental of 30 marks per booth. Today no one demands a booth. The bi-weekly fairs have ceased to exist, and at the four annual cattle markets there are, at least, a few head of cattle which find no buyers.

ECONOMIC WASTE

All this is sheer economic waste at a time when the whole world is enfeebled and de-vitalized and demands recuperation. Starvation after a long hemorrhage is surely the maddest prescription that ever proceeded from a demented doctor!

Let me repeat that I have no intention

of sneering at the Poles for failing to do what Prussians with their experience and opportunities had learned how to do, but the facts are what they are and they cannot be sentimentalized away. The Prussian River Works Board maintained and regulated the Vistula with admirable efficiency. Under the new régime its work has been undone. Steadily since the war the amount of damage done by floods has increased. Dams have been neglected, dykes are in a perilous state and it is complained that the danger of the river breaking loose draws nearer. "We are seeing," I was told, "the complete destruction of all that Prussian administration, diligence and pains, costing many millions of marks, have for years so carefully built up and kept going. Dykes and dams are all in an extremely dangerous state. In respect to that part of the river flowing through Congress Poland, the state of affairs is even worse. The consequences of this neglect and especially of the discontinuing of the necessary regular dredging operations are making themselves felt in the river navigation. The sandbanks that cause so much obstruction and risk to the boatmen have again accumulated in many places. The maximum draught of vessels navigating the river has been considerably reduced. For this reason alone the navigation of the Vistula has inevitably diminished. And the result is that very soon there will be on this important water highway no ships at all to speak of. As a matter of plain present fact, the traffic on the river now in one month is not equal to what it formerly was in one day."

These are *ex parte* statements and subject to reserve. It is possible that Polish inefficiency is exaggerated in the accounts given by Germans. The main facts, however, are hardly disputable, and they cry out to any one who has walked over the ground, to be harshly reminded at any moment that he is stepping out of one country into another or back again.

Reliable figures of the total loss in agriculture and industry by the present territorial arrangement are not obtainable; obviously it is very great. The exportation of cattle from the existing remains of West Prussia and from East Prussia to Posen and the severed portion of West Prussia has virtually ceased. In the year before the war 191,000 head of cattle were exported; the figure for 1925 was 1,207. How much was lost by the senseless tariff war between Germany and Poland we cannot say precisely, nor is it relevant to our purpose

to ask whose was the greater responsibility for initiating and maintaining that struggle. It was one of the "economic consequences of the peace." A study of the railway map of the Corridor serves only to reinforce the lessons drawn from a study of every other aspect. The German railway, being forced to pay a certain amount per kilometer to the Polish authorities, chooses a longer route to evade the levy, at an estimated extra cost of \$2,000,000 a year. Higher freights are the inevitable consequence and it is stated that of the 300 agricultural concerns of West and East Prussia inspected in the last couple of years, 86 per cent. showed a loss. Here again, the responsibility may be disputed, but the result is clear and indisputable—economic waste. To the unbiased onlooker it appears that the German and Polish authorities both display a minimum of the spirit of accommodation, that the prevailing feeling is one of bitterness.

So much for the actual present mischief of the Polish Corridor, and the case could be stated at much greater length and with more wealth of detail. What of its dangers? Poland is today, next to France, the greatest military Power on the Continent of Europe. Germany is weak today in the military sense and will be compulsorily weak for some time, but not permanently. Close by is the Soviet Union, huge, menacing, organized on a military basis and drawn every day by the logic of events more into the position of the old imperialistic Russia with her aims and ambitions. It is not yet sufficiently recognized in this country how this Corridor dispute is poisoning the political atmosphere of Europe and to what an extent we are involved.

THE BRITISH ATTITUDE

I was impressed while I was in Germany by the very apparent feeling, despite a general desire for friendliness with this country, that Great Britain has become reactionary, economically and politically. Before the war Great Britain stood for free trade while Germany was, in Europe, the Mecca of the high protectionist. Today the current of opinion in Germany is running against customs barriers, which are regarded as obstacles to trade, and it is felt that Great Britain shows a tendency to return to protection. On the political side Great Britain is considered to be chained to the chariot wheels of France. Harsh and unjust as the British public may consider some of his comments to be, it cannot

ignore such a criticism as that contained in Dr. Budding's article in *Abendland*, entitled "Warsaw-Paris—London-Berlin." He argues that the British have been the tools of the French in their desire to have "a political instrument wherewith to injure Germany." "As for the relations between England and Russia," he writes, "these have become somewhat strained of late and English politicians have suddenly shown a marked interest in Poland, although hitherto it has not been their policy to do anything to strengthen Poland whom they looked upon as nothing but a vassal of France. Their sudden interest in Poland is, of course, not wholly unselfish. England is trying to make use of Poland as a figure on a chessboard during her match with Russia. Neither England nor France has ever raised a finger since the erection of Poland to help her or her people in their plight and to further their peaceful development. The objects they are following up in Poland now have nothing whatever to do with Poland herself; they are purely of a selfish kind. Moreover, they imply no manner of advantage to the Poles."

These naturally are not the terms the British would choose themselves, but who can deny a certain excuse for this interpretation of events viewed from the German angle? On what ground is the Polish Corridor defended, when it is defended in Great Britain? Precisely upon this ground of the necessity of a diplomatic and military check to Germany. It is an attitude that implies belief in the permanency of a policy of force and it can mention the League of Nations only with a sneer. To call such an attitude pro-Polish or even to represent it as

friendly to Poland is to juggle with words. It is no true friendliness to the nascent State to make her the tool of great Powers whose rulers have not yet exorcised the ghosts of the old diplomacy that nearly wrecked the world, to exploit her own less worthy instincts for the profit of others.

Poland, it is said, should have an outlet to the sea. Free access to the Baltic with no customs barriers against her would meet all her legitimate peaceful needs. It is only when we speak in terms of military strategy that such a solution appears anything less than satisfying; in other words, when we clothe ourselves in the war-mind. But why did the great Powers set up the League of Nations?

The Polish Corridor question will seem to many people to be eminently one with which the League might deal. If, however, it is felt that the League itself has become too much the battlefield of competing European interests, the matter cannot be left alone. Might not Great Britain and America make a concerted effort to do what we all feel needs to be done? There is, I am convinced, sufficient good-will toward Poland to make it a practical suggestion that assistance should be given her to face the problems of a new country. We want to see Poland flourishing and taking that place in the comity of European nations to which her history and the many admirable qualities of her people entitle her. That, however, must be done without injury to the economic life of Europe. Unless something on these lines is undertaken the outbreak of another war can be only a question of time.

LONDON, December, 1927.



Rivalry of Russia, China and Japan In Manchuria

By A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

FORMER COLONEL IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY; SPECIALIST ON FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

ON Nov. 23, 1927, a group of influential Chinese financiers and business men sent a cable to the Chinese Minister at Washington requesting him to present to Secretary of State Kellogg and the American people their resolution opposing loans to the South Manchuria Railway by the Morgan interests, whose alleged intention to make such loans has been the subject of persistent rumors since the recent visit to Japan of Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co. This action by prominent Chinese business men shows the seriousness of the situation in Manchuria from the purely Chinese point of view. That the Chinese have every reason to be alarmed at that situation is undeniable. The Japanese menace to Chinese interests in Manchuria is clearly outlined in this resolution, which asserts that the South Manchuria Railway is an "imperialistic Japanese political and economic instrument," and that the line is not a commercial enterprise but one used by Japan to promote her aggressive policy in Manchuria and Mongolia.

There are certain areas on the political map of the continents which seem to have been predestined by fate to form entangled knots of conflicting interests and to create international problems, the solution of which is not only fraught with great difficulties, but may even become the cause of a dangerous conflagration. Of such areas a very prominent, if not the ranking, place has been assigned to Manchuria, where the vital interests of three Powers—China, Russia and Japan—are closely interwoven and in their progressive development are bringing about a dangerous situation.

"Manchuria," says a Chinese scholar (Dr. Shuhsi Hsü: *China and Her Political Entity*, 1926), who has recently made a study of that problem, "forms today the only outlet for the Chinese millions of the North." It is for the Chinese people "easily as vital as the throat." Ample evidence in support of the above statement is contained in the facts relating to Manchuria's colonization, beginning from the establishment of the Manchu rule over China (17th century) and extending to our own days.

Originally Manchuria was not Chinese. It was the land of Manchu tribes of nomads which were united about the middle of the sixteenth century by one of their chieftains (Nurhachu), who assumed the title of Emperor. In the next century the Manchus established their rule over China and Manchuria became an extramural part of the Chinese empire. In 1776, in conformity with the fixed policy of the Manchus to isolate their nationals from the Chinese, the latter were forbidden by a special edict, issued by the Emperor Kienlung, to migrate to Manchuria. Those, furthermore, who had settled in the two northern provinces were excluded from that vast and remote part of the country. The imperial edict, however, did not kill the natural tendency of the Chinese to migrate to the north and the prohibitive measures of the Manchu dynasty could not be carried out and proved to be of no avail.

But it was only in the last decade of the century, when Russia started building across Manchuria the Chinese Eastern Railway, that a regular process of colonization of Manchuria by Chinese on a big scale set in. From the following figures this remarkable growth of colonization, covering the period of the last thirty years or so, may be clearly seen: On the eve of the twentieth century the population of the two northern provinces of Manchuria was only about 1,500,000 (the population of Southern Manchuria was at that time about 3,000,000). In 1908 it increased to 5,700,000, in 1919 to 9,000,000 and in 1926 to 13,000,000. The population of the whole of Manchuria amounts at present to 22,000,000. (Some estimates reach as high as 26,000,000.) Thus the population of Manchuria in the last three decades increased five times (from 4,500,000 to 22,000,000), and that of her northern provinces taken alone about eight times and a half (from 1,500,000 to 13,000,000).

Only an insignificant percentage of that population falls to the non-Chinese elements, of which the Japanese, probably the largest foreign element in Manchuria, hardly constitute nine-tenths of 1 per cent.

(under 200,000). The great mass of the population is formed by the Chinese, mostly immigrants from Chihli and Shantung.

ATTRACTION OF CHINESE LABOR

Chinese laborers are attracted to Manchuria by the opportunities of finding work in various fields of local industry, such as lumbering, construction, manufacturing and mining, but their predominant number and constant flow to that country are chiefly due to the very favorable perspectives which Manchuria opens to the farmer. Its climate does not undergo sudden changes, the soil of its plains is extremely rich, the slopes of its mountains, especially in the East, are suitable for cultivation. Applying their century-old methods of tilling the soil the persistent and laborious Chinese colonists gradually turned northern Manchuria, where not so long ago only hunting and cattle-breeding were possible, into a cultivated land and made agriculture its basic industry. According to the latest available statistics (1922) northern Manchuria alone yields annually about 62,000,000 tons of agricultural products, of which about 25.6 per cent. goes for export. Yet its farming possibilities are far from being exhausted, as only 33 per cent. of the whole area is under cultivation.

No little time will elapse before Manchuria's capacity as a reservoir for the surplus population of China will be filled up. Although its population has largely increased of late, the average number of inhabitants to a square mile in the North hardly reaches the figure of 150, while the density of population in some of China's coastal provinces (Kiangsu, for instance) amounts to 875 men to a square mile.

Such factors as the natural tendency of the Chinese to migrate to the North and the continuous and rapid growth of their numbers in Manchuria, as well as the results of their activity there, explain first, the close economic relationship between the provinces of northern China (Chihli, Shantung), on the one hand and Manchuria on the other, and, secondly, the steady process under which Manchuria is turning into a purely Chinese land, a land inhabited and tilled by the Chinese and depending on the work of their great mass.

China's attitude toward the problem of Manchuria was made clear during the Washington Conference, one of the objects of which was the "consideration of all matters bearing upon the situation of (Pacific and Far Eastern) problems with a view to reaching a common understand-

ing with respect to principles and policies in the Far East." In the course of the discussions of the three main questions raised by the Chinese delegation in connection with that problem (the presence of Japanese troops and police agencies in Manchuria, the extended term of the Japanese leases of territory and railways in South Manchuria, the unilateral treaties of 1915 growing out of the Twenty-one Demands) a significant statement was made by Dr. Wellington Koo, one of the spokesmen of the delegation. It was, in part, to the following effect:

Not only does the national safety of China depend upon the safeguarding of Manchuria as an integral portion of the Chinese Republic * * * but also the security of the economic life of the Chinese people depends in a very vital measure on the conservation and development by the surplus capital of the world of the natural and agricultural resources in Manchuria—a region where today an abundance of raw material and food supplies are already accessible to all nations. * * * Moreover, Manchuria is an important outlet for the surplus population from the congested provinces in other parts of China.

The words of the above official statement show in the clearest way how great the importance of Manchuria is for China as a nation.

RUSSIA'S INTEREST

What are Russia's interests in Manchuria? To formulate a correct answer to this question is neither easy nor encouraging. It is not easy, because the unfavorable impression created by the Czarist Government's imperialistic policy toward China with respect to Manchuria still prevails, despite the fact that that policy underwent a fundamental change after the Russo-Japanese war. It is not encouraging because, in view of the communistic propaganda and activities in China of the Soviet Government, aiming at a "world revolution," Russia's legitimate interests may be easily identified with those of the Third International. Speaking, therefore, about Russia's national interests in Manchuria is not unlike pleading in behalf of a lost cause. Nevertheless, the importance of the question justifies an attempt.

That Russia may look upon Manchuria as an outlet for her population, before which lies open an enormous colonization fund in the vast territories of Eastern as well as Western Siberia, is a question which hardly deserves any consideration. Nor is Russia in need of Manchuria's agricultural products, the latter's basic re-



Map of Manchuria and adjoining territories

sources, since the fertile regions of the Trans-Baikal and West Siberia provinces not only fully meet the requirements of the population of Siberia, but constitute an important part of Russia's export. The same holds true with regard to the products of the timber industry, which takes second place among North Manchuria's items of export. The mineral resources of Manchuria are chiefly situated in the southern portion of that country and are exploited by the Japanese. Consequently, it is not in colonization, food supply or natural resources, the need of which might explain, if not justify, a policy of expansion, that Russia's interests in Manchuria must be looked for.

To find the explanation we must turn to Russia's need of unimpeded access to the

sea and to the problem of her communications in the Far East. The fact that North Manchuria is crossed from end to end by a railway built by Russia with China's consent and forming a vital link of the Great Trans-Siberian line, is the explanation of Russia's national interest in Manchuria—an interest which, regardless of the kind of Government which happens to be for the moment at the country's helm, can not leave the Russian nation indifferent to the status and eventual fate of Manchuria. The question, therefore, of the importance of Manchuria to Russia may be narrowed down to the importance of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The latter forms the continuation in a straight line of the Great Trans-Siberian Railway and is the shortest way to Vladivostok. By building it across Man-

churia Russia was able to shorten the eastern section of the Great Trans-Siberian Railway, between Vladivostok in the east and the Trans-Baikal in the west, a distance of 925 miles, by 400 miles. (The southern line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Harbin-Dalni (Japanese Dairen), about 625 miles long, was ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Portsmouth, with the exception of the section Harbin-Kuanchentze, about 150 miles. The Japanese portion, Kuanchentze (Changchun) - Dairen, about 475 miles, with branches, is called now the South Manchuria Railway.)

FACTOR IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The rôle of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as the shortest link between Russia and the Pacific Ocean and as a part of the transit route across two continents, hardly needs to be emphasized. But that the railway also became the fundamental factor of the economic development of Manchuria is a fact which has never been stressed enough. Yet it may be said that the history of the Chinese Eastern Railway is the history of the economic development of Manchuria. The intensive colonization of Manchuria, the bringing together of the far-distant parts of that country, with an area of 365,000 square miles, larger than that of the three Pacific States of the United States (Washington, Oregon and California) taken together, the opening up of her natural resources, were the direct results of the building of the railway. I cite here a few facts and data:

In 1897, when the construction began, there were in northern Manchuria only three districts where colonization was under way, though it was developing very slowly. They were: Tsitsikhar, Hulancheng and Ninguta. The remaining immense stretch of land through which the railway was to pass was inhabited by nomadic, practically independent tribes. The work of railway construction attracted thousands of workers—Chinese coming from the South. After the Boxer rebellion, when the Chinese Eastern was formally opened for traffic (June, 1903), the Chinese administration, having worked out a whole plan of systematic colonization of Manchuria, carried it through step by step in a comparatively short time. This, of course, was possible by making use of the railway.

To what extent the Chinese Eastern Railway contributed to the opening of Manchuria economically may be seen from the following figures (taken from *Northern Manchuria and the Chinese Eastern Rail-*

way, Economic Bureau of the C. E. R., Harbin, 1922), showing the percentage of export and import goods transported by the railway in the period 1906-1921:

	Exports.	Imports.
1906.....	12.8	30.8
1913.....	47.6	23.2
1916.....	30.4	15.1
1920.....	61.0	15.0
1921.....	63.6	16.9

[NOTE—The balance is made up by local transport and transit goods.]

From the above figures it may be seen that exports, or, in other words, products of Manchuria's economic life, steadily increased and in 1921 constituted more than three-fifths of all goods transported by the railway, while the imports were on the decrease and in the last years formed only one-fourth of the exports. This situation developed in Manchuria contrary to the anticipations of the builders of the railway, who had undertaken its construction with the expectation that the main functions of the railway would be transportation of imports and transit goods.

An idea of the general progress of the Chinese Eastern Railway's work may be had by taking note of the following figures: The annual tonnage of goods carried over that railway grew (in thousands of tons) from 250 (1902) to 1,240 (1913), to 2,100 (1921) and to 2,800 (1923); in other words, it increased in twenty-two years more than ten times.

The Chinese Eastern Railway was a costly undertaking for Russia. The funds spent for the construction of the railway reached the imposing sum of \$200,000,000. The present cost of the railway, by deducting from the above sum the cost of the southern line (ceded to Japan) and adding to it the expenditures on improvements, plus loans and deficits, is estimated at \$600,000,000. (*Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn*, 1926, No. 10.)

The status of the Chinese Eastern Railway at present is determined by a treaty signed in May, 1924, by the Chinese Government and that of Soviet Russia. In view of the fact that Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the dictator of Manchuria, had refused to recognize that treaty, a supplementary agreement was concluded in September of the same year, with Peking's consent, between the "Autonomous Government of the Three Eastern Provinces" and the Soviet. In virtue of that agreement the Chinese Eastern Railway was to become an exclusively commercial undertaking, under joint management and control of both China and Russia, and the fate of the railway in

future was to depend only on what the two above Powers might jointly decide with regard to it.

It is not the purpose of this article to pass upon that agreement, nor upon the present status of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in the zone of which, owing to the conflicts and strained relations between Chang Tso-lin and the Soviet authorities, the situation is far from settled. But as soon as conditions in China become normal and a Government comes into power in Peking which will be able to exercise control over Manchuria, the problem of the Chinese Eastern Railway will no doubt be taken up with a view to arriving at a final solution. Whatever that solution may be, one can easily foresee that, on Russia's part, the following two conditions will form the basis of any agreement: (1) That up to the time when the Chinese Eastern is redeemed, or becomes the property of China, Russia's rights of ownership must be recognized, and, (2) That the railway, when it ceases to be Russia's property, shall neither fall into the hands nor under the influence of a "third Power."

JAPAN'S INTEREST

The vast importance attached to Manchuria by Japan may be clearly seen from the following quotations: "Manchuria," said the spokesman of the Japanese delegation at the Washington Conference, "(is) a region where, by reason of its close proximity to Japan's territory more than anything else, Japan has vital interests in all that relates to her economic life and national safety." "The question of war or peace for Japan," states a Japanese author in a book devoted to the description of Manchuria (A. Kinnouské, *Manchuria*, 1925), "will be settled, not in Japan, nor on the Pacific, * * * but in Manchuria. * * * Japan is about to find in Manchuria the source of life and national peace. For of all the thousand troubles Japan has, two are serious: The lack of food and the lack of vital materials. * * * And Manchuria seems to be the answer to a large extent." "Especially in the Manchurian region," said Premier Tanaka in a recent address expressing his views on China, "where we have the closest connections, Japan cannot tolerate the spread of disorder."

That the above statements are justified by facts and actual conditions the Japanese themselves have been anxious to make clear in interviews, books and addresses. Learning what has been done by Japan in Man-

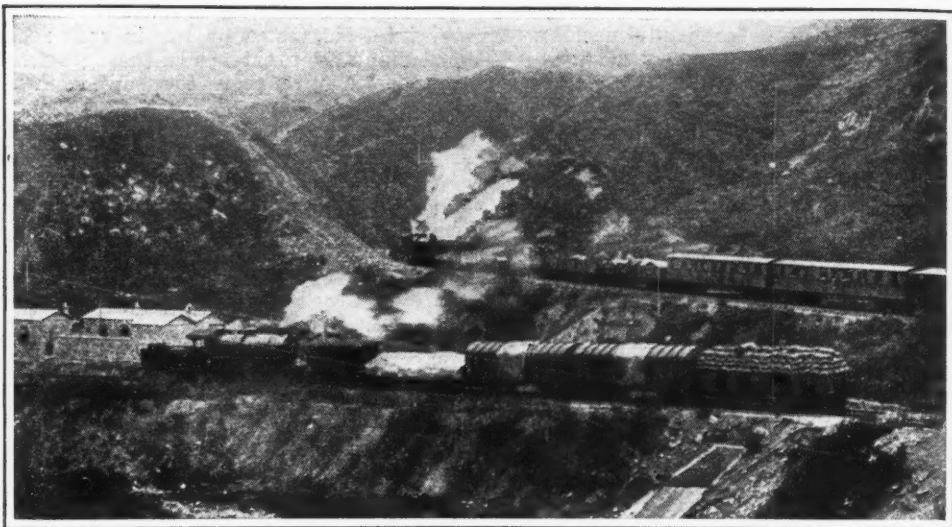
churia one realizes that great indeed are the interests vested by her in that region and similarly great the advantages which she draws or expects to draw from her investments.

No sooner was the Russo-Japanese war over than Japanese money began to flow into Manchuria. To that end the South Manchurian Railway Company, which took over the control of the Changchun-Dairen line, ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Portsmouth, was called into being by an Imperial ordinance in 1906. The company was capitalized first at 200,000,000 yen (about \$100,000,000) and later its capitalization was increased to 440,000,000 yen (about \$220,000,000), of which the Japanese Government's holdings amounted to 50 per cent. Though nominally a joint-stock company, the South Manchuria Railway Company is in fact under complete control of the Imperial Government at Tokio, which appoints its directors. The Chief of Staff of the Japanese armies in the war of 1904-05 (General Kodama) was the first director of the company. Later on that post was held by a former Minister of War (General Terauchi). The South Manchuria Railway Company is looked upon by the Japanese as an "Empire builder" and "by far the biggest fairy mother of Japan's activities in Manchuria."

Under the aegis of the company the Japanese activities developed and grew rapidly. First they were confined to South Manchuria, including the Kwantung leased territory, the lease on which was extended in 1915 to nine-nine years (up to 2002), but subsequently they were carried over to the northern provinces of Manchuria. It is estimated (*New York Times*, Aug. 18, 1927) that the amount of 1,300,000,000 yen represents the approximate total invested in Manchuria by the Japanese.

JAPANESE PROGRESS IN 22 YEARS

What are the results of those activities after the twenty-two years which have elapsed since the Russo-Japanese war? Japan controls in Manchuria a modern system of railways, partly owned and leased by her and partly built with Japanese funds, and consisting of lines leading to the three principal ports of South Manchuria (Dairen, Yingkow and Antung), and of a network of branches, of which two are of special significance. They are sections of proposed lines, one of which will eventually connect South Manchuria with Eastern Mongolia (section Ssuninghai-Tanonanfu) and another which will serve as



The Pekin-Kalgan Railroad, built by American-trained Chinese engineers and largely with American material. Chinese railroad history began in 1876, when the Woosung line, built by foreign enterprise, was opened

an outlet for Manchuria on the Sea of Japan, at the port of Seishin (section Changchun-Kirin). The great economic as well as strategic importance of those railways for Japan is obvious.

The city of Dairen has been turned into a first-class port, with piers and quays making it possible to berth at one and the same time steamships of a total tonnage of 170,000 tons, and is equipped with modern workshops and warehouses which can house half a million tons of goods. Strategically it presents for Japan an excellent base for action on the mainland.

RAILWAY COMPANY'S MINES

The Fushun coal mines, owned by the South Manchuria Railway Company—by far the most important of all the coalfields in Manchuria—yield to Japan daily 17,000 tons. There are also five other coalfields exploited by the Japanese (among them the Yentai mines with a daily output of 400 tons are the largest).

One-half of all the exports through the three South Manchurian ports mentioned above (five years ago the total value of the exports through those ports was estimated at \$172,000,000) consists of soya beans, which are the leading agricultural product of Manchuria, not only used largely by the Japanese as food, fertilizer (bean cake) and raw material in many lines of industry (bean oil), but also constituting an international trade commodity. As re-

gards imports, the Japanese share in the importation of cotton pieces (cotton textiles dominate the imports of Manchuria just as the soya beans dominate the exports) is twice as large as the share of all the other countries taken together.

The net profit of the South Manchuria Railway Company, which, besides railways and coal mines, controls the Anshan mines (iron ore), big oil mills, huge generators of electric power and many other enterprises, amounted (in 1924) to 56,000,000 yen (about \$23,000,000).

Thus it may be seen that Manchuria has become in fact a "source of life" for Japan, not only in the sense that she finds there an answer to her question of "lack of food and vital materials," but also for the reason that Manchuria serves the Nippon Empire, which above all is a country of industrial producers, as an outlet for her industries.

In one respect, however, Japan's expectations with regard to Manchuria could not be realized and her aim proved to be a complete failure. These were her expectations to find in Manchuria an outlet for the surplus of her population, increasing 800,000 yearly. This is a fact which is admitted by the Japanese officials in Manchuria themselves. During the last twenty years, according to a statement by Baron Okura, director of the South Manchuria Railway, the increase of Japanese in Manchuria consisted only of 10,000 and the

total number of representatives of that nation in Manchuria did not even reach 220,000, which is only about nine-tenths of 1 per cent. of the whole of its population. In this respect a significant remark was added by the Baron: "One cannot compete," he said, "with the Chinese coolies, who poured into Manchuria in such vast numbers that it became necessary to limit the landings at Dairen to 12,000 daily." Thus, despite the great effort made by Japan, Manchuria, which for centuries formed a part of the Chinese Empire *de jure*, has become the land of the Chinese coolie *de facto*.

But if such is the fact, one feels entitled to put the question: Is Japan about to find in Manchuria, in addition to the source of life, also a source of national peace? An affirmative answer to that question, it seems, might be given only if the following conditions existed: (a) If the Chinese nation were reconciled to the fact that Japan is the master of Manchuria; (b) If Russia were indifferent to the Chinese Eastern Railway's fate; (c) If Japan's strategic position in Manchuria were stronger than that of Russia and China, taken together. But of these three conditions the first two, as set out above, do not exist. Nor is the attitude of China and Russia with regard to Manchuria likely to change in future.

ADVANTAGE BASED ON MILITARY FORCE

As to the third condition, however, there can be no question that it has been firmly established. Japan's indisputable command of the Far Eastern seas, her excellent bases and double-tracked railways in Manchuria, enabling her to concentrate quickly large forces south of Harbin and east of Peking, her general military preparedness, are advantages which almost exclude any probability of successful resistance to Japan's will supported by military threat or action. Perhaps no better characterization of Japan's present strategic position has been made than that contained in the following words written by M. J. Sauerwein, Foreign Editor of *Le Matin* (*New York Times*, April 16, 1927), a recent visitor to Manchuria: "When considering the possibility of a war in the Far East one thinks only of Japan. She is the only Power possessing the means to make such a war. It all depends on whether she would find it vital to her interest to take such a risk."

Thus the national peace and security, of which Japan claims to have found a

source in Manchuria, appears to be based only on one of the three above conditions, that is, on Japan's military strength. Whether national peace based only on military strength may be considered as a peace of permanent nature and contributing to the improvement of international relations is a question which, to say the least, arouses much doubt. At any rate, the general opinion about Manchuria outside of Japan is far from being reassuring and the situation there is regarded as containing "much latent dynamite."

CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM

On the strength of all that has been set forth above, a definite conclusion with regard to the Manchurian problem may be reached. It is to the following effect:

The problem of Manchuria has not arisen out of temporary conditions and casual circumstances. Its origin is due to factors which, having for their base irresistible tendencies of normally developing national life, such as the tendency to migrate into regions offering better living conditions (in China's case), or to get over economic difficulties, either in the question of unimpeded communications with the seacoast (in Russia's case), or in that of supply with vital resources and of securing outlets for industrial products (in Japan's case), are working continuously, and, as history teaches, can not be eliminated by imposing injunctions or placing obstacles in their way.

The solution of the problem, therefore, appears to lie in the creation of such conditions in Manchuria as would enable the development of the vital interests of the nations concerned to combine without detriment to any of them. Such conditions, it is obvious, can not be created by mere application of force. They must be attained by establishing a *modus vivendi*, the basic points of which stand out clearly. They are as follows:

- (1) The recognition of China's sovereignty over Manchuria;
- (2) The solution of the fate of the Chinese Eastern Railway in accordance with the interests of Russia as a nation, which sooner or later is bound to come back to the family of nations;
- (3) In future no railway construction in Manchuria should be undertaken, the main purpose of which is to serve the interests of a foreign country, or, in other words, the principle should be recognized that the railways in Manchuria must be neither Russian nor Japanese nor of any other nation, but Chinese.

Admiral Bristol, American Naval Diplomat

By WALTER HIATT

ADMIRAL MARK LAMBERT BRISTOL, who was recently appointed Commander-in-Chief of our Asiatic fleet after concluding eight years as United States High Commissioner to Turkey, should be regarded as much as a diplomat as a naval officer. The position he now holds, one of the most important of all American foreign posts, involves not only naval responsibilities but commercial and political matters that are vital and of increasing importance. The limits of his command include the Pacific and Indian Oceans and tributary waters from 180 degrees west longitude to 80 degrees east longitude, but not including the Mediterranean Sea or the west coast of Europe or Africa. He is the direct representative of the President, and not under any other civil or military jurisdiction in those waters in so far as his relations are concerned with foreign diplomatic, military and naval representatives.

Born at Glasboro, N. J., on April 17, 1868, he graduated from Annapolis in 1887, and advanced through all grades to that of Captain in 1913, seeing service in all parts of the world under sail and steam, in peace and war. His special studies included gunnery, torpedoes and aircraft, and for three years until 1916 he was in charge of the air development of the Navy. Then he was given sea duty convoying troops overseas, and was later in command of a battleship division, besides performing other duties afloat and ashore. In 1919 he received orders to take charge of American Navy vessels in the upper Mediterranean. That Spring Turkey had come into the limelight of the Peace Conference by the renewal of the charges that she was massacring Christians as in 1915, by the million, and Greek troops were hurried to the rescue. The news stirred 80,000,000 Moslems and at least a hundred million Americans, especially those of the backwoods who knew all about the terrible Turk. American interests, lives, missionary schools had to be protected, and Bristol was sent with the usual admonitions not to do anything foolish against the Turks, with whom we had never been at war, yet save those Christian Greeks and Armenians that had not been slain in the book of Ambassador Morgenthau. Con-

gress, on Aug. 10, 1919, voted \$100,000,000 for relief and chartered the Near East Relief organization.

Bristol began work on Aug. 12 when he broke the seals of the American Embassy in Constantinople and initiated a certain amount of diplomatic business through the Swedish Legation. Just at this time officers on destroyers under his command started bringing in reports to show that it was the Greeks and not the Turks who seemed to be to blame for the troubles at Smyrna and in its hinterland, that in fact these Greeks had been guilty of disorder and outrage on the very day of their landing, May 14. The facts have since become pretty well understood. It was at this time that I first met Admiral Bristol, and I can still recall his indignation at what he believed had taken place, and his perhaps unspoken determination to put a spoke in the wheels of those men directing rather hideous moves from Paris, under cover of military necessity and grand political gesture.

The American world can hardly yet have forgotten that tremendous sensation on April 24, 1919, when the Italians left the Peace Conference, nor the credit then enjoyed by Venizelos as the cleverest man in Paris, cleverer than Lloyd George or Wilson or Clemenceau or Orlando. The immediate purpose of the dramatic exit of the Italians was to protest against the refusal to give them what had been promised in the Adriatic, including the cities of Trieste and Fiume, asked for by the Serbians, who apparently had Wilson's support. The Italians had dropped their German alliance and sided with the Allies after having received definite promises. Also, by the treaty of St. Jean de Murienne they claimed a foothold in Turkey, room for colonial expansion, including possibly Smyrna. Venizelos at this juncture pressed the claims of Greece, which had deposed Constantine and sided with the Allies in exchange for promises of large slices of territory. He suggested Greece be also given a slice of that Smyrna territory, as the way out of many difficulties confronting the conference.

The Near East has been the scene of wars since early Greek and Roman times, with Armenians, Tartars, Saracens, Islamic

nations or tribes, Christian Crusaders, all shifting in and out of the picture, with the Turks finally dominant and at one time menacing Europe, reaching almost to Vienna. Not only Constantinople but Smyrna had been many times burned, looted, razed, during these wars of rivalry. Until the rise of Russia, Europe had always been uneasy about the Turkish power. With the decline of the Turks there had risen little new nations in the Balkans, made out of Turkish remnants, and their animosities and disputes had kept the peace of Europe unsettled—in fact, had precipitated the World War. The rise of the Germans and an attempt to form a Central European and Turkish combination that would extend the Bagdad railway so as to menace the British in India had led to a Franco-Russian-British alliance. In 1907 Russia and Great Britain agreed to drop their mutual antagonisms in Central Asia, and when the right time came to cut up the Turkish Empire and specifically give to Russia the long-coveted water outlet at Constantinople. The fall of the Czar and the Russian revolution of 1917 had vitiated that agreement, but Great Britain thought she could secure her ends alone. Minor considerations were French, Italian and Greek interests. There were also all sorts of ancillary interests—oil in Mosul and Baku, French historical prestige, the burning eagerness of Greece to play the rôle of a larger nation with larger territories, the real need of Italy for lands for her excess population. The Turks were a defeated people and therefore their armistice at Mudros of Oct. 30, 1918, which did not grant an Allied troop occupation, was but another scrap of paper. Here, then, we have the motives actuating that Greek occupation of Smyrna. The British, too, were conducting a left-handed war against the Bolsheviks in South Russia, pouring troops into Constantinople, using it as a base for lines of communication that were strung out almost to India by way of the Caspian Sea. The help of the Greeks meant strengthening tools that might later be useful as a bulwark to British dominance at Constantinople. So for these reasons, and as a sop to Christian opinion, there was drummed up the charge of fresh Christian massacres by the Turks.

DANGER OF NEW WAR

Much of this by-play Bristol understood. He saw clearly that it was not morally right, and also that it would not work in either a political or military sense. Then there was the menace to American political

and commercial interests if these lands ceased to be free, if another nation or nations obtained the strangle-hold on this bait of the world that Germany had been seeking. What Bristol saw was a new war starting at the very moment when humanity was breathing prayers of thanks that the war to end wars was over. If Bristol had been a cynical diplomat, dealing in wise saws, polite notes, heartless hindsight, a brutal forerunner of more brutal armies, he might have kept still and deferred to the all-wise Peace Conference. Gradually there began to appear in the press statements about the true character of the Greek occupation. No doubt Bristol, too, sent so many dispatches to the State Department, though his position was then not official, that in the flood of reports then deluging that department from all quarters by those trying to save the world, his must have caused some remark. Finally, at American instigation, an Allied and Associate inquiry was ordered into the methods used by the Greeks. It was regarded as a detail by those busy, overworked men in Paris and London. Moreover, Lloyd George had been offering nations all over Europe a mandate over Armenia. Eventually this offer was also made to the United States, with Turkey thrown in, and a little thing like an inquiry could do no harm, perhaps conciliate this American nation which might be secured as a back-stop to British lines against Russia.

Bristol was made President of the Committee of Inquiry. Because that report was so long suppressed, a few lines of its text may be given. A bulky document, its findings occupied some eight typed pages, the first part placing the responsibility, the other presenting the conclusions of the committee.

In Part I the first section is categorical: "The inquiry has proved that since the armistice the general situation of the Christians in the vilayet of Aidin has been satisfactory. Their safety has not been menaced. If the order of occupation of Smyrna was given by the Peace Conference in consequence of inexact information, the first responsibility of the events lies with the individuals or the Governments which established or transmitted, without verifying it, information of this kind." Section 2 then goes on: "The initial cause of the events must be sought for in religious hatred. The Greeks have done nothing to prevent manifestations of it. Their occupation, far from appearing like the execution of a civilizing mission, immediately assumed the aspect of

a conquest and a crusade." And so on for eight sections examining causes and assigning blame.

In Part II (the conclusions) Section 1 reads: "The situation created in Smyrna and in the vilayet of Aidin by the occupation is a false one, because * * * it is incompatible in its present form with the return of order and peace of which the populations, threatened by famine, have great need." Under Section 2, Clause c, is found this statement and warning: "It is the duty of the Committee of Inquiry to observe that the Turkish national sentiment, which has already manifested its resistance, will not accept this annexation. It will only yield to force, that is to say, before a military expedition, which Greece alone could not lead with any chance of success." The report concludes with the recommendation that the Greeks be relieved of this occupation, looking, of course, to annexation of the territory to Greece. It was signed by Bristol, by General Bunoust of France, General Hare of Great Britain and General Dall'Olio of Italy.

The report in some quarters, particularly British, was regarded almost as an act of defiance of the Peace Conference, and before it was signed many influences were brought to bear on the signatories either to withhold their signatures or pigeonhole the report in some manner. When this could not be done, the next best thing was done; it was not acted upon. Venizelos objected to its publication on the ground that no Greek had sat on the committee. Repeated efforts in the British Parliament to have it published were blocked. As late as March, 1922, the point was raised in that body, but then it was too late. The report had been justified by events.

Some of Bristol's messages to the State Department concerning this occupation and the agitation led by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, then spoken of as a "bandit," found their way into the hands of General Harbord, who was sent in September, 1919, to report on a possible joint Armenian and Turkish mandate. Bristol's words were eloquent of approaching disaster: "The events at Smyrna have cheapened every Christian life in Turkey * * * The moral responsibility for the present unrest is very heavy on foreign Powers * * * political conditions shriek with misery, ruin, starvation * * * of bestial brutality unrestrained by God or man * * * Asia Minor today is nothing but a vast heap of ruins * * * Misdeeds such as to make the conscience of mankind shudder with horror forever."



REAR ADMIRAL MARK BRISTOL

In despair Bristol saw in this new war the wreck of commerce in Turkey, the ruin of a Greece made rich by the war, fresh trouble food for the Russian Bolsheviks. During those hot, busy weeks in Smyrna, in travel by land and sea to the confines of Persia, he had looked upon vineyards in destruction, beyond mountains where quivered the silvery olive leaf, seen once smiling valleys of homes, beheld a vision of atrocity, rape, homes asunder, new Niobes crouching. His military sense told him a new war in that spacious hinterland meant Greek defeat, meant the withdrawal of Turkish troops keeping order against Russia and wild tribes on the frontiers. His cables to the State Department rang with religious fervor to save the land. Why send out relief workers, spend millions of dollars like water, unload ships that had been filled with the savings of a kind people, if a new war was to nullify this good?

BRANDED AS "PRO-TURK"

Sent out originally to stay a few months, toward the end of 1919 he was made an official United States High Commissioner. Locally, the British went their way, snarled at by the French, the Italians, the Turks.

Incidentally, Bristol was ironically, spitefully classed as pro-Turk, though he was trying to save the Greek nation. He whose influence with the Turks, glad to have one honest heart to deal with, was making American relief work possible, saving Greeks and Armenians from robbery and natural persecution, was slandered as anti-Armenian, as anti-missionary, anti-relief. In mean petty ways he was made to feel the anti-British stigma. For example, the British seized a fine radio station near Constantinople which had been built by the Germans and American messages were not transmitted by it until some thoughtful radio operator of one of the American Navy vessels put on such high power currents that no radio messages of any kind could be sent. Bristol was sometimes annoyed, angered or hurt by these rumors, but he was ever ready to help those floods of refugees, particularly those of Russia, who came in by ship, by small boat, fleeing their forbidden homes. Nor was he ever the martinet with the officers and men of the Navy. It was a wild land, of many distractions, and the doings of bluejackets ashore would never quite pass muster. Bristol saw, smiled, was tolerant and kept the bigger issues before him.

By 1920 America had lost interest in the war. It was the relapse. She was going home, to forget the war and Europe, and in this mood Bristol's hopes of any American help, other than that of relief, faded. He had to carry on alone, see that circle of disaster widen daily, watch the efforts of the British narrow to a mean struggle to hold Mosul oil, perhaps to push the Greeks to a lame victory over the Turks. The Bolsheviks gradually absorbed those half-dozen republics formed around the Black Sea. American business, all business, declined to almost nothing. Persia was lost to law and order. Starvation stalked in the land. In April, 1920, Kemal declared war on the British. The Turks under Kemal gradually became more powerful. There were little wars on every hilltop. Thrace was laid low. So was the Crimea. Bandits seemed to rule every valley. French troops were massacred at Malatia and in Cilicia. At Athens, in November, 1920, Venizelos lost the elections and fled, leaving dreams and glory behind. Constantine returned in a shriek of applause, took up the fallen sceptre, gambled again in Asia Minor, and finally lost in September, 1921, to the Turks at Sakkaria. His gallant evezons retreated and were slain as they fled.

Pitiful details of the time have been left

in another suppressed report, one made by Miss Florence Billings and Miss Annie T. Allen, both engaged in relief and missionary work. Miss Allen, who had spent her life in Turkey, died a little later at Sivas of typhus fever in the American Mission home, and was not murdered by the Turks as was reported at the time. Their report on certain destroyed villages in the Turkish war zone is a grim chronicle telling of what was seen in village after village. Thus, at Kozaghaj, a village of 200 houses, of which 196 were burned: "This was a large, prosperous village, its wealth lying in its grape vineyards. Many of the houses had been three stories. At the entrance was a pleasant open square with trees and a fountain. The walls of the village badly destroyed, of the mosque only the minaret left. As the villagers were escaping, some of the women were seized and violated. The young men were killed in an attempt to shield the women. * * * Everywhere robbing, beating, murder, lust, rape, racial hatred."

The events crowd now as in an old Greek tragedy where the results have been carefully laid in the premises. Smyrna is burned during the final Greek retreat of a year later, and the cry, so false and foolish, of a new Turk massacre goes up. In any case, the place is a madhouse and it perishes under the cloud of madness which set Greek troops there in May, 1919. There is consternation in London, with brief mouthings of politicians, struttings from brave British troops before Chanak. Lloyd George comes to his political fall, deposed Constantine a little later dies of a broken heart at Palermo, the Sultan flees. At Constantinople there is a pandemonium of joy, outbreaks of Turks, with Bristol the saddest and wisest and only influential man there. He is no longer the man who was anti-something. He is known as the friend of everybody, the most popular man within 1,500 miles. When the peace negotiations between the Allies and the Turks begin in late 1922, at Lausanne, Bristol is there, patient as a Turk, conciliatory, smoothing out difficulties for all. That delayed peace was signed in July, 1923.

Commenting on the rivalry and discredit of the Near East policies of the Powers preceding the World War, Sir Edward Grey wrote in his memoirs: "What has become of all this rivalry, this struggle for prestige and for gain? The thrones of Berlin, Vienna, Moscow are empty. * * * It would be distorting true perspective to say that the lack of idealism in Near East policy was the cause of all this disaster; but

it may be fairly said that it was a symptom of things that were the cause, and it was from the Near East that came the flash which fired the train of dire consequences." Nevertheless, after the great war was over, the same forces, despite the practical idealism of a Bristol, wrought new ruin. All the favored solutions for the Straits were overboard. A billion dollars of money, two to three millions of lives, infinite suffering, might have been saved. A prosperous Turkey, perhaps a free Armenia, might have arisen. Fewer troubles in Smyrna, many others elsewhere, more virtue in American relief, might have come if a little plain common sense and idealism had been applied.

VIEWS ON WORLD POLITICS

Though it is hard to induce him to discuss larger issues, he naturally has his views. Speaking, for instance, of one phase of our national life, he says: "The United States was born of a venture in foreign trade. Whether we personally approve of it or not, each and every one of us are in foreign trade all the time, and to trade abroad profitably we must learn how to gain and hold it." His attitude toward foreign trade used frequently to express itself in the way he sent American business men about on navy ships, up and down the Black Sea and elsewhere, when passenger or freight vessels were not available and the navy ships had

errands in the same direction. Again, Admiral Bristol did not bring away from the Near East any fear that the rule of the few in Russia would spread far, nor any fear of the "rising tide of color," as opposed to white domination. Taking Turkey as an example, he is sure that the old pan-Islamic movement and another involving a union of Mohammedan peoples have not taken root. Such problems seem to loom very large on the Far East horizon. "The mistake many thinkers make is to regard all non-white peoples as in one great union, whereas their differences are more bitter than those among white peoples." At that, "I have ceased to be a prophet," said Admiral Bristol. "The great lesson of the East is patience, the realization that if you plan carefully and wait long enough you will get what you are planning for. If world peace is to be maintained, if we are to avoid suicidal wars, there must be a keener consciousness of the fact that people are just people the world around, sticking closer to the old international conception of a family of nations. As Americans we have the great duty to continue actively to exercise our moral credit and character."

A queer lot, these men who go to sea in the navy, and get seasoned out of theory by the constant presence of fact. They can never forget for an instant that if a ship of 20-foot draft goes into a 19-foot depth, she just must be wrecked.



Japan's Progress in Rebuilding an Empire

By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D. D., L. H. D.,
FORMERLY OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF TOKIO; AUTHOR OF
The Mikado's Empire AND OTHER WORKS ON JAPAN

REVISITING Japan in 1927, fifty-seven years after my first sight of Fujiyama, reminded me of the Washington shaft (the first foundation of which was laid but a few months before President Millard Fillmore's peaceful armada was sent to Japan), seen even as late as the '80s of the last century, in comparison with the stately monument reared nearly half a century later on a new foundation, which honors the memory of the Father of his country in the national capital today. Similarly, in Tokio, the capital of Japan, so often shaken by earthquakes, under the super-structure of the Imperial Hotel a daring but level-headed American architect and builder laid some years ago a broad basis of concrete and steel. The terrible earth-tremors of 1923, which brought waves of rock and soil to the surface, leveled most of the human structures in the capital city and the seaport Yokohama, but it disturbed only slightly this caravanserai. The edifice passed through with hardly a crack or scathe, revealing no permanent injury.

On much the same principles applied to nation-rebuilding, far-seeing Japanese statesmen, as far back as 1867, when Mutsuhito ascended the throne as Emperor, determined to combat the time-honored policy of conquest by Europeans of the Asiatic nations. This they were enabled to do largely with the help of the Monroe Doctrine, of which President Fillmore was a strenuous advocate. They also decided to sweep away the relics of an oppressive feudalism and the rotten débris of a worn-out civilization, to prepare the nation for entrance into the world's brotherhood of nations by modernizing Japan. Therefore, the "Charter of Oath" of Jan. 3, 1868, which they put into the mouth of the young Emperor Mutsuhito, in the old Shogun castle of Nijo in Kyoto, contained the words, "to relay the foundations of the Empire." Of this clause my friend Mitsuoka, or Yuri, of Fukui, Echizen, was the author, as he told me himself in 1871 in relating the story of the revolution in Kyoto, out of which grew modern Japan.

Let me say respectfully to those writers on Japan who insist that this Oriental

nation has but a thin veneer of Western civilization, and that "beneath the surface" the Asiatic attitude of culture and temperament will be found unchanged by contact with the West, that in my profoundest belief, they are mistaken. I cannot understand how any one who is familiar with the Japanese political literature before 1850, together with the philosophy that was then most dominating, and with the books then most read by the men of thought and action, and with the currents of opinion that were the most powerful in the generation or two before the birth of the new nation in Kyoto in 1868, can hold such an ungrounded notion. I, who saw the death of feudalism, in the impressive ceremonies of farewell, of daimio and retainers, in the castle hall on the first Sunday of October, 1871, at Fukui, Echizen, and then, in the capital, from 1872 to 1874, met often and talked with the men who made the New Japan—we were all young then—I, who saw before me the tremendous national transformation, am absolutely unable to share the pessimistic opinions of men who cannot be familiar with either the roots or the soil of Japan's modern growth.

Were the actual leaders fewer than a dozen and the real architects but fifty-five in all? So most, if not all, of the critical scholars on the ground, or intimate with the Japanese in 1868, as I was, or familiar with the literature of the preceding half-century, believed and do believe. I have strong convictions on this point, for I was in Japan in 1870, having previously known and taught scores of Japanese young men in America who were sons, relatives, or friends of the "fifty-five creators" of the new nation. Besides this first-hand information given me by others on the soil, what I myself saw convinced me of the depth and power of the great reformation of 1868.

"DISARMAMENT" OF SAMURAI IN 1871

As stated above, I was a witness, in the castled city of Fukui in 1871, when Japan set an example to the world by "disarming" nearly half a million of educated men, each of whom wore daily a brace of swords.

Thereafter private war was made impossible. This Japan did in her own peculiar way, not by attacking with frontal force an ancient institution, though I heard in Tokio from the Prime Minister, Tomomi Iwakura, that the Government "was ready to shed blood, if necessary," but by adroit flank attack. The actual method was this: All the four great "lower" classes of society, hitherto kept down in their place by "the girded sword," were given the same privilege of wearing at their belts the two keen blades. At once the colossal Tokio joke was appreciated. The samurai disarmed, though I distinctly remember that Yuri, the Mikado's local agent at Fukui, absented himself for a week to escape the storm of wrath, when swords were loosened in their scabbards to "get" him. Besides removing their swords in the manner indicated the Imperial Government abolished also the pecuniary and social privileges of 450,000 men. These men, with their families, comprising some 2,000,000 people, faced either poverty or the transference of their energies to other spheres.

The writer, who saw this moving scene and who felt the thrill of it, is often accused of flattering the Japanese, whom he knows so well, after the sixty-seven years following his first visit to Japan, and of exaggerating the mental capacity of the islanders. Yet his vision of faith in the early '70s has become a reality in the light of day in A. D. 1927, despite all pessimism. The modern pessimist who misjudges Japan's civilization is too much influenced by the old spelling books, the unrevised geographies, and the almost stereotyped notion that there is a fundamental difference between the "Oriental" and the "Occidental," and that it is orthodoxy to remain unconvinced. Too many modern philosophers are apt to hold opinions like that of the commercial traveler who, on first seeing Jerusalem, declared that it "could not compare with Chicago," while people lacking in historical perspective, and whose expectations of large orders for merchandise have been disappointed, declare that Japan is moving at a swift pace "toward the devil or the deep sea."

Having seen Commodore Perry's flagship launched in 1850 alongside of my father's coal wharf in Philadelphia, and having very recently visited Japan from Sapporo to Kagoshima, taking in also Korea, Mukden, Dairen and Port Arthur, I am inclined to see both stability and progress in the present national structure, for I know some-

thing of the foundations that lie under the supposedly old stump of "unprogressive" Orientalism. These foundations began to be laid, in Japan's language, literature and science, two centuries ago. Nor were political martyrs before the Fillmore era lacking in feudal Japan. As to progress, the emblem selected for the South Manchurian Railway, by which Japan has penetrated the continent and conquered the wilderness, is a steel T-rail set within the centre and rising above the crest of the letter M, which represents a hitherto uncultivated field, where now waves a harvest for the world. It was at Dairen that I saw six large steamships from distant countries unloading, while out in the offing there lay at anchor as many more, waiting the opportunity to empty and refill; and near-by on land were vast storehouses in which, garnered by the Japanese, was wealth from the soil where only a score of years ago was barrenness.

THE NEW JAPAN

To judge Japan with even ordinary fairness one must remember the vastness of her modern empire, the variety of the tribes and systems under her rule, and the complicated nature of her problems. The old Japan of our boyhood's geography and the "Yezo" of the maps is gone forever. After a month's sojourn in Korea, with her 17,000,000 people, and a visit to the northern island, once inhabited almost wholly by the Ainu savages—undoubtedly the ancient forebears of Caucasian humanity—I was surprised at the steady progress made in education since I first landed on the soil. The modern traveler, whether of the superficial type or serious and sympathetic in disposition, must see that the basis of all popular education has been laid, not only for the Japanese but for all natives of the several lands under the Tokio Tenno's sceptre.

What most of all, in 1927-28, deeply impresses the quondam dweller in the interior and capital in those long-past years of 1870-74 is the utter absence today of what then most disgusted him. The almost universal unmentionable diseases and their marks on the human figure are gone. A healthier and better-looking race is here now. Moral progress is seen in the absence of certain visible emblems and daily habits—whether we deem them obscenity or Edenic innocence. These are now dreams of the past. The leaven of progress is working powerfully and deeply in every line



From Davidson's *Present-Day Japan*

THE EMPEROR MUTSUHITO OF JAPAN
Whose reign is known as the Meiji Epoch

of human endeavor. While visiting institutions, from universities to leper settlements, delivering two hundred or more addresses in Japan and Korea to every sort of organization, secular or religious, I have had opportunity to see how different these lands now appear to one who in 1871 saw gangs of Southern Japanese Christians, in the red criminal robes, marching amid the snows of Northern Echizen to the exile of years. Since missionaries began seed sowing vast have been the changes. I see today full freedom of conscience for all, hundreds of Christian congregations and free public schools, a new generation facing a vastly different outlook than of old.

I behold also a veritable transformation in Japanese habits of life. In place of the *kago* and *norimono*, moved by human muscle and only for the privileged classes, I see virtually all Japan flying on wheels and in a hurry. There were in 1870 no draught horses. Except the sumpters, pack transporters, or bearers of the men of privilege, the horse was not in use as with us. To attempt, then, to harness one even to a light wagon meant usually the demolition of the vehicle by hind hoofs.

A similar transformation may be noted in commerce and finance. The railways, besides breaking up old local prejudices and habits, have educated a nation in the value of time—a fact that strikes the American most powerfully on returning to Japan. Jewelry stores, rich in stocks of clocks and watches, are now in every town. Vast and profitable is the change from 1872, when the first train from the capital to the seaport, with an English engineer at the throttle, moved off to Yokohama on the dot. The Occidental man with a watch started on schedule time, while the Japanese Prime Minister and his suite—no one having notified them—sat smoking in the waiting room, only to be left behind. Now with telegraph, submarine cable and wireless, Government executes its orders and the bank doors open and close on the second mark.

How brilliantly Japan has weathered the inevitable post-war financial panic has been recently demonstrated. Mr. Takahashi (he has resigned his title), twice Premier, who in 1871 taught me Japanese while I taught him English, was worthily decorated by the Emperor not long ago as the pilot who by his experience led the nation out of the financial storm into the deep, still waters of sanity and prosperity.

FACING SERIOUS PROBLEMS

Japan has yet serious problems before her. One of these is a too rapidly increasing population. Does this arise from enlargement of industry, increase of comfort, a higher standard of living, and adaptation to markets and humanity's higher needs? Or is it from lack of birth control, so absolutely necessary in the day of poor crops, lack of facilities of transportation, and too many million bushels of rice used to make saké, or the liquor that makes drunkards? Whatever be the answer, the pioneer of the American school system in 1870 believes in 1927 all the more, that "education is" not only "the basis of all progress," but "the cheap defense of nations"; while the Japanese most certainly accept in full faith both maxims.

Japan's future rivalry with and advantage over nations east and west will not be in war, but she will almost certainly be, first a formidable rival, and then a victor in the stress of economic competition. Critics of her civilization and her future possibilities, judging from today's results alone, may doubt her ability to keep abreast of the world's progress. Nor can it be denied that her raw materials are scant.

Those, however, who saw her in the time of the feudal system and who have noted her great changes and her nice adaptations can still believe that she lives up to her cry of "excelsior" raised in 1868, when her century alce of a hundred years of interior intellectual preparation flowered—as the world thought—so suddenly. It is one of the wonders of modern history, as the scholar well knows, that Japan was at least intellectually fairly well prepared to receive the impact of aggressive Occidental civilization, and in time even to roll back the European would-be conquerors.

In Japanese history inward intellectual expansion began long before 1853, when Perry sailed out of the West with Fillmore's peaceful armada. All that our Commodore did was to show the path of progress and to touch the button releasing the stored-up inward energy which the diplomatists, led by our Townsend Harris, soon found had long existed, while American teachers did the rest. It was enlightened and educated natives, taught largely by American missionaries, who led Japan into the paths of the world's history and destiny. Not a few semi-centennial or other anniversaries, recalling "the beginners of a better time," have been held within the past decade; some notable ones, during my half year's stay on the soil, prove this.

Notable was the great celebration in May, 1927, of the work of Okubo, the "brain of the Restoration of 1868." His writings, on exhibition, were illuminating. The unveiling, with appropriate ceremonies, in April of the splendid memorial to Iwakura, the

Prime Minister who in the '70s led the great embassy abroad, and on his return fought the recrudescence of feudalism and in spirit crushed the Satsuma rebellion of 1877, illustrated the temper of modern Japan—much like that of Lincoln in his memorial address.

Let me supplement these estimates of Dai Nippon's national permanence of progress, based on sixty years or more of intimate knowledge of Japan and the Japanese, by recalling an anecdote of Japan's leader of the Revolution in 1868. At a dinner which he gave to the American teachers in Tokio after his return from his round-the-world circuit of travel, and which I attended, Mrs. David Murray, wife of the American Superintendent of Education, still living at New Brunswick, N. J., propounded the question to Mr. Iwakura: "What impressed you most in your journey round the world?" Instantly came the reply: "The strength of the central Government in Washington. In a monarchy I could understand it. In a republic, it was a mystery to me."

So spoke sincerely the man who was chief in abolishing feudalism, even though "ready to shed blood." He was one who helped powerfully to introduce practical democracy into Japan, the manhood suffrage, which was finally ratified by the election of September, 1927, now being almost universal. Though the political party managers are afraid of the effects of this, patriots hope and the unselfish fear not.

The recent unveiling of a superb monument, eloquently inscribed with a biographical record, in the Ocean Peace (Kaianji) cemetery, Tokio, recalls Iwakura's statesmanship. It was a battle of giants in 1873 against the men of the new era. These leaders of the re-created Japan in their journey round the world had seen many nations and the triumphs of Occidental civilization. Pitted against their old comrades, who incarnated feudalism and the war spirit, they were faced with the determination of their rivals to invade Korea, because of her insults. Hot and heavy were the arguments on both sides, but peace sentiments and the pre-eminent desire



From Davidson's *Present-Day Japan*

The garden of an ancient Buddhist temple in Japan

to develop Japan and her resources on modern lines prevailed, at least in council. Yet only three years later, in 1877, the feudal ideas of Saigo, the national military leader of the Mikado's army of a decade before, but of the sworded samurai of ancient traditions, burst into flame in the Satsuma rebellion of that year. In the battles which followed, chiefly with bayonets against sword blades, the reactionary forces were crushed. The new peasant army's reputation was established. The hereditary prestige of the samurai, or sworded knights, with their ancestral choice weapon of steel, had fallen forever before discipline and breech-loaders.

The military experience gained in the Satsuma rebellion enabled Japan first to resist China's age-old claims of suzerainty over Korea, and then to roll back the flood of Russian aggression in many a signal victory. In the latter case the writer, in Cooper Union Hall in New York, even before a shot had been fired or Togo had cleared the seas, prophesied what actually did happen on land and sea. His star pupil, Komura, later at Portsmouth, N. H., won not indemnity (the war having been on soil alien to both nations) but the real diplomatic victory, which was the preponderating influence of Japan in Manchuria. It was hard for one who knew what education and practical democracy had done for Japan during thirty years to predict anything else. The victory of the smaller nation in the Russo-Japanese war was even more one of brains and skilled hands than of prowess in the field, though that was far from lacking.

Twelve days before General Nogi followed his master, the Emperor of Japan, in death he sent me a letter thanking me for helping, on the intellectual side, to train up his "fighting comrades," while Togo followed with words of like appreciation. So far as my observation may be added to personal experience gratitude is a prominent trait of the Japanese. Dai Nippon honors her own heroes and appreciates the tributes to their fame abroad. The Government possesses the true historic, if not the Christian spirit, one is apt to think, when he sees at Uyéno in Tokio the colossal bronze statue of Saigo, the Satsuma leader,



From Davidson's *Present-Day Japan*

Japanese feudal castle wall

loyal son of the nation, who fought for the Mikado against the rebels of 1867, and then at Kagoshima beholds the tomb of the same mighty man, the rebel, unadorned, yet honored in sorrow. Saigo was the Lee of a lost cause. Today no nation is more united in one commonwealth than is the Japanese.

Unquestionably the triumph of the modern Government of Japan in almost literally beating a myriad of swords (each samurai wore two, one for the enemy, one for himself if he dishonored his calling and status) into plowshares and the other tools of peace, without bloodshed, is worthy of more than passing notice. It afforded not only a hopeful precedent for world disarmament, but gave a tremendous impetus to social progress and political evolution. Having lived in Japan during the feudal system, when the lower classes had few, if any, rights which the two-sworded samurai were bound to respect, and having seen the country under three emperors, let me attempt in this day of rising democracy to sum up my impressions after six months of recent travel.

PROGRESS TODAY IN JAPAN

I wrote in 1876, after four years of life in the interior and at the capital, that the average subject of the Mikado was a sheep, so far as political rights were concerned, or so far as he was allowed to discuss them. But now, with 2,000 newspapers in the empire, with the right of organization and public meeting gained, with a populace able to read and write, and after a half century

of public schools and representative government the advance seems to me not only tremendous in proportion, but too deeply rooted even for a Government to check. Granted that vast and deep conservatism still rules—as evidenced for example by the prolonged obsequies following the recent decease of the Emperor—nevertheless the education of the masses, not only through public instruction in the schools but by the newspaper press, and the successful propagation of the once-banned Christianity, arousing by its victories other forms of religion to fresh activities, have greatly altered the situation as I first knew it in 1870. A whole generation has passed away since I and my sister organized the initial public schools for both boys and girls.

Now the working classes think, have opinions, practice local government and vote. To hear people of the same class, politically helpless in 1870, now talk of their rulers and of local and national policy, is most interesting. Indeed, if it were not based on the intelligence derived from books and the periodical press, it would seem startling. Moreover, I have visited several of the twenty or so public libraries in Tokio alone—there being plenty of others and in numbers proportionate in the other cities—and so I do not wonder that public opinion in Japan is no longer abysmally different, as it was in 1870, from the West, but is today a tremendous influence, even in the highest governmental machinery.

One of the most notable of the activities begun after the great earthquake of 1923—in which the largest library of Tokio, in the University, numbering 800,000 volumes, was totally destroyed—is the re-creation of the

book-world in Japan. Mr. Rockefeller gave \$2,000,000 for a new library edifice, which when completed "will remain a lasting monument of the intellectual and cultural fraternity of the world." The response in Europe to the appeal of the Professor of Law, Dr. Takayanagi, has come in the form of 300,000 books and \$100,000. It is now safe to say that there are at least 2,000 libraries in Japan, more or less for public utility. Some of the private collections, founded by rich men in Osaka and Tokio, show that Japanese public benefactors rival, in this line of enterprise, those of other lands. For two of these collections, \$175,000 and \$1,500,000, respectively, have been expended in purchases of volumes to fill their shelves, which are open to scholars and men of research.

So, renewing my acquaintance with Japan, after fifty-seven years since my first sight of Fujiyama, I utter my abounding faith that the modern civilization of Japan is too deeply rooted to be destroyed, either by political storms from without or by social earthquakes from within. Let her pagodas, which have withstood the earth-rockings and air-tempests of a thousand years, be the symbol of her security. Seen from without, the iron *kiudo* (nine rings) at the top may quiver and oscillate like a feather, but inside is the steadying pendulum of many long and heavy tree trunks united in one tongue, as an assurance of safety. It holds the noble structure of faith and toil to its immovable base. Out of the union in Japan of Occidental and Oriental civilizations there will arise a nobler structure immune against the shocks of change.



The 20th Century Dispersion of The Jews

By LEONARD STEIN

POLITICAL SECRETARY, WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

A HUNDRED years ago the overwhelming majority of Jews were concentrated in Russia, Poland, Austria, Germany and Hungary. It has been estimated on good authority that in the early part of the nineteenth century this area contained at least 80 per cent. of the world's Jewish population. It contains well under 60 per cent. today. These figures give some idea of the scale on which successive waves of emigration have re-distributed the Jews, first as between the New World and the Old, and secondly, as between the English-speaking countries and Eastern Europe.

Emigration *en masse* began in 1881. Between 1881 and 1926 close on 3,000,000 Jews uprooted themselves from the European Ghettoes to seek new homes under the shelter of more liberal institutions. Of these, at least 2,500,000 made their way to various parts of the American Continent. More than 2,250,000 settled in the United States, about 150,000 in Great Britain and at least 150,000 more in other parts of the British Empire. As recently as fifty years ago the Jewish population of the English-speaking countries was insignificant; today it is estimated at about 4,000,000, or more than one-fourth of the Jewish population of the world.

The history of Jewish emigration during the past hundred years falls into four well-marked periods: (1) Up to 1881; (2) from 1881 to the outbreak of the World War; (3) the war years, 1915-1918, and (4) the post-war period from 1919 onward.

Up to 1881 the movement was on a comparatively insignificant scale. Enterprising individuals made their way to the United States and in much smaller numbers to Great Britain, but there was nothing in the nature of wholesale emigration. In 1880 there were not many more than 200,000 Jews in the United States, as compared with about 15,000 in 1840. The increase was appreciable, but it was trifling in comparison with that which took place between 1880 and 1926. In Great Britain the rate of increase was much slower; the estimated Jewish population in 1880 was only 62,000, as compared with 35,000 forty

years earlier. A large proportion of the immigrants were middle-class Jews from Germany and there was no marked exodus from Eastern Europe. In the whole period of sixty years from 1820 to 1880 the number of Russian Jews who settled in the United States is estimated on good authority at less than 50,000.

The situation was abruptly changed by the bursting of the storm in Russia in 1881. An alarming series of anti-Jewish excesses was followed in 1882 by the enactment of the celebrated "May Laws," which were deliberately designed by the Czar and his advisers to make the lives of the Jews unendurable. The result was a tide of Jewish emigration, which gradually swelled into a torrent. In Rumania the lot of the Jews was almost equally unenviable and the outward pressure was intensified by a fresh code of repressive legislation, which came into force in 1899. In Austrian Poland (Galicia) the Jews lived under a less illiberal régime, but they were forced to emigrate in increasing numbers by deepening economic distress. Between 1881 and 1914 there was in the aggregate an exodus of not less than 2,250,000 Jews from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, of whom the overwhelming majority came from Russia.

The main stream of emigration flowed overseas and the bulk of it to the United States. It was not until 1899 that Jews began to be separately enumerated in the official returns of the United States Department of Labor. From these returns it appears that the total number of Jewish immigrants between 1899 and 1914 was 1,346,590, the peak-year being 1906, with a figure of 153,748. For the period 1881-1898 the best available estimate gives a total of 533,478, exclusive of admissions through ports other than New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Adding a small allowance for admissions through other ports, it would probably be safe to take a round figure of 550,000, making a total of just under 1,900,000 Jewish immigrants, mainly from Eastern Europe, for the whole period from 1881 to 1914. By 1914 the Jewish population of the United States had

increased to 2,400,000, as compared with about 200,000 in 1880.

The bulk of the remaining emigrants may be divided into two main groups. Some 250,000 made their homes in various parts of the British Empire; about 150,000 in Great Britain and about 100,000 in the British Dominions, notably in Canada. A second group of approximately 100,000 settled in Argentina, where a number of Jewish agricultural colonies, with a population estimated in 1914 at 24,000, were founded by the Jewish Colonisation Association, as the administrators of the Hirsch endowment for the relief of persecuted Jews.

The volume of direction of Jewish overseas emigration on the eve of the World War is illustrated by the following table:

JEWISH OVERSEAS EMIGRATION, 1911-14

Year	U. S. A.	Canada	Argentina	Total
1911.....	91,223	5,146	6,378	102,747
1912.....	80,595	5,322	13,416	99,333
1913.....	101,330	7,387	10,860	119,577
1914.....	138,051	11,252	3,693	152,996
Total...	411,199	29,107	34,347	474,653

With the outbreak of the World War, free movement ceased and the flow of emigration was abruptly checked. In the four years 1915-18, the United States, Canada and Argentina received between them only 66,000 Jewish immigrants, as compared with over 474,000 in the four years 1911-14.

THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Jewries of Eastern Europe were shaken to their foundations by the war and its aftermath. The Russian Pale of Settlement was in the war zone and the military authorities insisted upon wholesale deportations, which set more than a million Jews adrift. At the close of the war the prevailing anarchy in Southern Russia exposed the Jews to a campaign of extermination on such a scale that in June, 1920, the British Minister at Warsaw stated, in an official report, that "the massacres of Jews by Ukrainian peasant bands can find, in their extent and thoroughness, no parallel, except in the massacres of Armenians in the Turkish Empire." By 1922 the storm had died down, but the position of the Jews remained precarious, not only in the Ukraine, but in the Soviet Union as a whole. It was politically precarious because Jewish traders were under suspicion as members of the bourgeoisie, orthodox Jews as defenders of religion and Zionist Jews as nationalists and nationalists having special ties with Great Britain. It was economically precarious because, of a

total Jewish population of about 3,000,000, not more than 5 per cent. were engaged in agriculture and the majority were concentrated in the towns as merchants or shopkeepers, the very class which was in most imminent danger of being crushed out of existence by the Communist State.

Thus, at the close of the war the outward pressure was more urgent than ever and the normal stream of would-be emigrants was swollen by a multitude of Russo-Jewish refugees. Of these, some drifted back to their homes, others succeeded in making their way overseas; but in the Summer of 1921 more than 200,000 remained stranded on the fringes of Russia, for the most part in Rumania and Poland. Neither country was willing or, indeed, able to offer the fugitives more than temporary asylum and both pressed insistently for their prompt evacuation. At the instance of the Jewish Colonization Association a number of Jewish bodies in various parts of the world united in an organized attempt to find the necessary outlets. If the problem was solved, as it eventually was, it was thanks mainly to their efforts, seconded by the good offices of Dr. Nansen's High Commissariat for Russian Refugees, which was established under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1921. A minority of the refugees—exact figures are not available—were repatriated to Russia under amnesty; the great bulk of the remainder were evacuated overseas to the United States and Canada, to Argentina, Cuba and other parts of South and Central America, or to Palestine. From over 200,000 in August, 1921, the stranded refugees in the Russian borderland were reduced to about 25,000 in March, 1923; 4,000 in July, 1925, and less than 1,000 in December, 1926.

Apart from Palestine, of which more is said below, the main stream of emigration continued, as before the war, to flow to the United States, Canada and Argentina. Small groups of Jews settled in Brazil, Uruguay and Cuba, but to a total of well under 10,000 in the whole period 1919-26. Great Britain, it need hardly be said, was completely out of the picture. Immigration on any appreciable scale has not been permitted since the beginning of the war and there is little prospect of its early resumption.

EBB AND FLOW OF JEWISH EMIGRATION

Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe to the United States rose to its prewar proportions in 1921, but it was materially reduced by the Immigration act of that

year and was brought down almost to vanishing point by the Act of 1924. The following figures speak for themselves:

Jewish Immigrants Admitted to the U. S.			
1919.....	3,055	1923.....	49,719
1920.....	14,292	1924.....	49,989
1921.....	119,036	1925.....	10,292
1922.....	53,524	1926.....	8,898

It will be seen that between 1919 and 1926, a little over 300,000 Jews settled in the United States, of whom nearly 40 per cent. entered in the single year 1921. During the same period about 30,000 Jews settled in Canada and about 50,000 in Argentina, where the population of the Jewish Agricultural Settlements was returned in 1925 at 33,135, as compared with 26,698 in 1918. Adding about 90,000 who have settled in Palestine and allowing for small groups who have gone off the beaten track, the total number of Jews who have emigrated overseas since the war may be estimated at something in the neighborhood of 500,000.

The ebb and flow of Jewish emigration can be seen from the following comparative table:

Jewish Overseas Emigration, 1911-26, in Four-Year Periods.					
Four-Year Periods.	U.S.A.	Canada.	Argentina.	Palestine.	Total.
1911-14.	411,199	29,107	34,347	*8,000	482,653
1915-18.	62,619	3,340	606	66,565
1919-22.	189,907	13,513	13,644	24,437	241,501
1923-26.	118,898	15,607	35,954	67,179	237,638

*Estimate.

It will be noticed that since 1919 nearly 20 per cent. of the total overseas emigration has been directed to Palestine. This is due, in part, to the restriction of immigration to the United States and its total suspension in Great Britain; in part to the intrinsic attractions of Palestine under the new conditions created by the war. Not only has Turkey been superseded by Great Britain, but Great Britain, as the Mandatory Power, has bound herself to cooperate with the Zionist Organization in promoting the establishment in Palestine of the Jewish national home. With this end in view, the mandate expressly requires the Administration of Palestine, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions." Of these conditions, the most important is that laid down by the Imperial Government in the Churchill memorandum of 1922, which declared that "this immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the

economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals."

SITUATION IN PALESTINE

From the figures given above it will be seen that between 1919 and 1926 Palestine received over 91,000 Jewish immigrants, or more than Canada and Argentina combined. In the two years following the coming into force of the Johnson act it received in the aggregate considerably more than twice as many as the United States.

As is not surprising in a derelict country in the initial stages of reconstruction, the economic situation in Palestine is unstable. There is a considerable ebb and flow in the state of trade and the demand for labor, with the result that there has been a certain measure of re-emigration. Complete and accurate figures are not available for the whole eight years, but since the end of the war the total number of Jewish emigrants (including pre-war residents, as well as recent arrivals) may be put at about 20,000, or a little over 20 per cent. of the gross immigration. It should be borne in mind that re-emigration is not peculiar to Palestine. In the case of the United States the returns of the Department of Labor show that between 1908 and 1923 the loss by re-emigration was very small, amounting to only 5 per cent. of the total number of Jewish immigrants. On the other hand, of 35,000 Jews who entered in Argentina between 1920 and 1924, as many as 5,000 are reported by the Jewish Colonization Association to have left the country soon after their arrival.

Allowing for departures, the net increase of the Jewish population of Palestine by new arrivals since 1919 has been about 70,000, exclusive of several thousand former residents who were repatriated at the close of the war. In 1922, when the Palestine Government made its first attempt at a census, the Jewish population was returned at 84,000, or 12½ per cent. of the settled inhabitants, exclusive of nomadic Bedouin. At the end of 1926 it was estimated at 158,000, or 20 per cent., a much larger proportion than in any other country, with the insignificant exception of the international territory of Tangier. Of the 158,000 Jews, 32,000, or just over 20 per cent., were living on the land in more than a hundred agricultural colonies.

The resources of Palestine are still at an early stage of development and its economic possibilities are at present being investigated in detail by an authoritative

Commission of Inquiry. This commission has been set up by agreement between the Zionist Organization and a group of influential American Jews who are desirous of taking a more active part in the work of reconstruction. Competent observers are unanimous in believing that Palestine can be made capable of maintaining a substantially increased population at a reasonable standard of subsistence and it stands alone as the one country in the world in which Jewish immigrants have in principle an assured right of entry under an international guarantee.

"BACK-TO-LAND" MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA

But the resources of Palestine are not unlimited and other avenues of escape are being closed. Whatever relief may be afforded by emigration, great masses of Jews must perforce remain in Eastern Europe and must remain there under conditions which seriously threaten the foundations of their economic life. This is more especially the case in Soviet Russia, where, as has been seen, the position of the Jews is peculiarly precarious. For these reasons it has been urged that, without prejudice to the acknowledged claims of Palestine, it is imperative that an organized attempt should be made to relieve the situation in Russia.

In the period before the war work was already being done on a considerable scale by the Jewish Colonization Association, which controlled a number of agricultural colonies and farm schools in various parts of Southern Russia. In the Ukraine alone fifty such colonies were in existence in 1914. The war and the chaos which followed it brought the activities of the association to a standstill, and it was not until 1921 that it was able to resume them. It devoted itself in the main to rebuilding and consolidating the pre-war settlements, abstaining in principle from new colonization. At the end of 1926 the fifty settlements administered by the association in Southern Russia, mainly in the Provinces of the Kherson and Ekaterinoslav, had a total population of 36,845.

Meanwhile, a back-to-the-land movement on a more ambitious scale had been planned by the Joint Distribution Committee of New York, the main channel through which the American Jews had poured out their wealth with conspicuous liberality for the relief of the Jewish victims of the war.

The American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation, commonly known as the Agro-Joint, was established by the Joint Distri-

bution Committee in July, 1924. The object of the Agro-Joint was to test the possibilities of Jewish colonization in Russia on an extensive scale. Its foundation was immediately followed in August, 1924, by a Soviet decree setting up an official Committee for the Settlement of Jews on the Land, which was attached to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. An agreement between the Agro-Joint and the "Komzet" was formally concluded a few weeks later. The main features of the agreement were as follows: (1) The general plan of colonization was to be submitted to the Komzet for approval; (2) once the plan had been approved, the Agro-Joint was to be free to carry it out without interference and was to have unrestricted control over the application of its funds; (3) the settlers were to enjoy all the privileges accorded by law to agricultural colonists in respect of remission of taxes, exemption from military service and reduced rates, both for passengers and freights, on the Government railways.

ENCOURAGED BY SOVIET

What was still more important, the Soviet authorities undertook to provide land for Jewish colonization, together with a certain quantity of seed, timber and other supplies. These undertakings have been carried out. In addition to furnishing supplies, the Soviet authorities have already set aside for Jewish colonization about 500,000 acres of land of an estimated pre-war value of about £3,000,000; and the Government is apparently prepared to go further.

The Agro-Joint settlements, like those of the Jewish Colonization Association, are largely concentrated in the Provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav, but colonization has also been carried out in other parts of Southern Russia, notably in White Russia and the Crimea. The total number of Jews engaged in agriculture in the whole of this area in the Spring of 1927 has been estimated by the Joint Distribution Committee at 130,000. According to the same authority, there were 76,000 Jews engaged in agriculture in Southern and Central Russia in 1923. It may be taken for granted that most of these were to be found in the districts in which the new settlements have been established. It would appear, therefore, that since 1924, when systematic colonization began under the auspices of the Agro-Joint, the total number of new colonists (including dependents) has been something in the neighborhood of 60,000.

London, England, December, 1927.

American Trade Unionists' Interview With Joseph Stalin

WITH A COMMENT BY MATTHEW WOLL.

VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; PRESIDENT, UNION LABOR
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

The interview between the first American Trade Union delegation and Joseph Stalin, chief executive of the Soviet Government, on Sept. 9, 1927, was both interesting and important because of the replies made by Stalin to twelve leading questions on Soviet policies put to him by various members of the delegation. To clarify the issue, the Editor submitted the account of the interview given in the delegation's report, to Matthew Woll, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, for comment and criticism. The following article embodies an analysis of the questions, Stalin's answers, and Mr. Woll's comment.—EDITOR.

THE first American Trade Union delegation to the Soviet Union visited Russia during August and September, 1927. The group was headed by James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and included such other leading "laborites" as John Brophy, President of District 2, United Mine Workers of America; Frank Palmer, editor of *The Colorado Labor Advocate*; James Fitzpatrick, President of Actors and Artists of America; Albert Coyle, Executive Secretary of the All-American Cooperative Commission, and a large technical, research and advisory staff. Their most important accomplishment was the lengthy interview with Stalin on Sept. 9, analysed herewith.*

Discussion was opened with the question, "What are the new principles that Lenin and Communist Party practice in Russia have added to Marxism?" Stalin's answer to this was that there were "no new principles"; that Lenin "only developed and made more concrete the Marxian doctrines in a manner applicable to the new conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the period of monopolistic, imperialistic capitalism which was just dawning at the time of Marx and which he could not have anticipated." The second question, "Is it accurate to say that the Communist Party controls the Russian Government?" elicited the statement that the Communist Party "guides the Government and is able to do this because it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the workers and toilers." The same principles apply to the Trades

Unions. The third question was, "Since there is legality for one party only in Russia how do you know that the masses favor Communism?" Stalin devoted much time to the explanation of this important point, advancing as the strongest argument the fact that the Communist Party prevailed over several other strong revolutionary parties in the beginning and had consistently maintained its supremacy, which it could not have done without the support of the masses. The American delegates then asked, "If a non-party group should organize a faction and nominate candidates for office on a platform which supported the Soviet Government, but at the same time demanded the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly, could they have a party treasury and conduct an active political campaign?" Stalin replied at once that "there is an irreconcilable contradiction in the question, as monopoly of foreign trade is one of the irremovable foundations of the platform of the Soviet Government." When further pressed to define "In what manner can the opinions of the working class and the peasantry, as distinct from the opinion of the Communist Party, find legal expression?" he replied that whereas under Czarism such conflict of opinion was concentrated mainly on questions concerning the overthrow of the Czarist system, at present opinion divides only on questions concerning the improvement of the organs of the Soviet Government and improvement of their work, thus providing no nourishment for rival parties to oppose the monopoly of the Communist Party, "the only legal party." The delegates then asked what incentive to production had

*The full account of the interview is published in pamphlet form by the Workers' Library, New York City.

replaced the hope of private profit. Stalin's reply to this was that because the workers now take an active part in the guidance and direction of industry they regard it as something near and dear to them, in the development and improvement of which they are vitally interested; moreover, they know that the revenues from industry are not employed for the enrichment of individuals but for the expansion of industry, for the improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working classes and for reducing prices; in other words, domestic improvement and expansion as against the colonial expansion of capitalistic countries. When asked "How far can Soviet Russia cooperate with the capitalist industry of other countries?" he replied that there need be no limit to such cooperation; that the Soviet "is pursuing a policy of peace and is prepared to sign a pact of non-aggression with bourgeois States." The next

four questions related to treatment of national minorities and to discussion of the American labor movement, which Stalin stigmatized, in general, as cowardly. He admitted, in reply to Question 10, that it was but natural that the Comintern "renders assistance to the Communist Party of America whenever it thinks it necessary." Asked finally to outline the society of the future which Communism is trying to create, he gave the well-known Marxian picture of collective ownership of means of production; a free association of toilers managing their economic affairs without economic antagonism; products distributed according to the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs"; science and art being developed to their highest point and the individual, "relieved from bread and butter cares," free for the first time to develop his potentialities to the fullest extent.

COMMENT BY MATTHEW WOLL

I HAVE examined with great care the statement made by Stalin to the so-called American labor delegation—which was not a labor delegation but a self-appointed group hostile to the position of American labor—taking for examination the statement as published in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* in Moscow on Sept. 15, 1927.

In this statement Stalin does not reveal anything new, but he does admit, with greater candor than most Soviet authorities have shown, the principal charges that have been made against the Soviets as a world propagandizing institution having world revolution as their necessary aim.

I have selected these important points as clarified by Stalin and set them forth so that there can no longer be any misrepresentation of the Moscow dictatorship by its American apologists:

First: Stalin admits that the Communist Party of Russia controls the so-called Government of Russia.

Second: Stalin admits that no other party is allowed to exist in Russia, which means that there is no freedom of political expression in Russia and that there is an absolutism.

Third: Stalin concedes that there is Communist Party control over the so-called unions of Russia, which demolishes any pretense of industrial freedom.

Fourth: Stalin concedes that the Communist Party of Russia is the most important factor in the Third International, the Communist International, and that it

is natural for the International to help Communist parties of other countries, including the Workers (Communist) Party in the United States.

We have known all of these things all along, but it is important to have them confirmed by the most powerful individual in the Communist régime.

The Communist Party of Russia, we therefore find, is the dominating group in a revolutionary movement which rules Russia and which through subordinate and controlled "international" movements, of which the Communist International is only one, conducts a revolutionary and hostile propaganda in the United States and other countries.

It is important to note, too, that Stalin was satirical and sarcastic as to the return of any of the property or rights to those from whom all property and all rights have been taken. This he made clear in discussing the foreign trade monopoly, which he declared essential to the Red dictatorship.

It does not seem to me that Soviet apologists can any longer camouflage any of the true Soviet characteristics or disguise their hostile operations in the United States. Stalin reveals a ruling power without scruples or morality, dedicated, as we know it to be, to the overthrow of democracy and the establishment of dictatorship. Whether or not that ambitious object can ever be achieved is quite beside the point. The point is the plan and the effort—not its chance of success.

The Rhodes Scholar's Troubles at Oxford

By G. H. ESTABROOKS

COLGATE UNIVERSITY, HAMILTON, N. Y.

THE American student arrives at Oxford feeling that all is well with the world. Oxford, he knows, is a university. So are Harvard, Chicago, Stanford and a hundred other American institutions. He has them all neatly catalogued in his mind: faculty, students, football team, fraternities and all the rest. He thoroughly approves of them and knows that he will do the same at Oxford. To be sure, he has heard some rumors of the "pig-headed" English; but then, he's "got to be shown." In the American institution he was captain of this, manager of that, president of the other and ran the student body in very fine style. Universities are universities and students are students. So bring on Oxford! Not until he has been at the English institution for several months does it dawn on him that he has been sadly deceived in his thinking.

Oxford and the American universities are simply different—as different as England and the United States, as aristocracy and democracy, as the old and the new. Oxford and Cambridge are unique in their country; Harvard is not. A dozen schools in the United States would challenge the supremacy of Harvard in intellectual fields, and so our comparison must be between Oxford and Cambridge on the one hand and the typical American institution on the other.

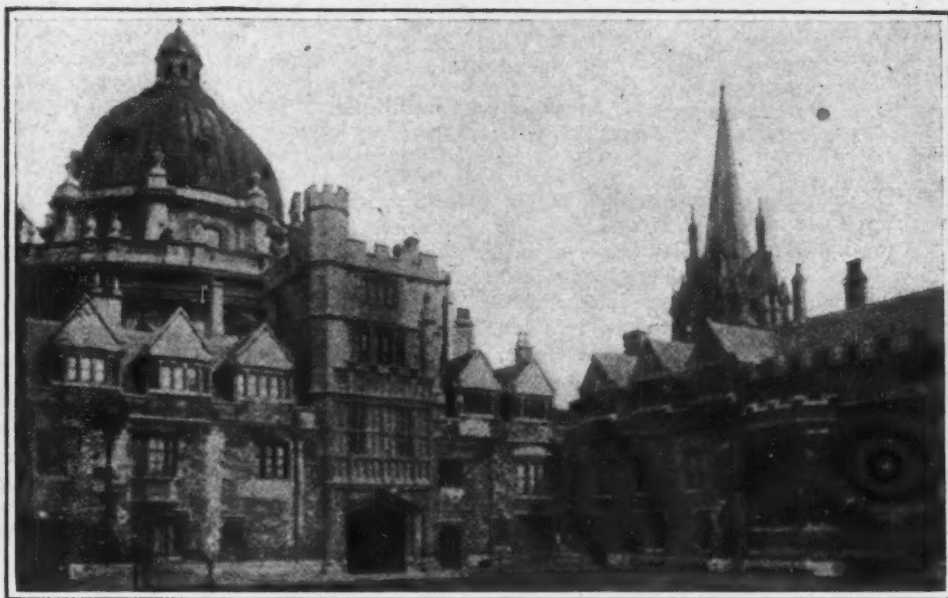
Oxford presents a strange picture to the Rhodes scholar. The university does not seem to exist. Harvard, Princeton and Yale do in the sense that you can stand in front of the Widener Library at Harvard, look around you and say, "This is Harvard." But not so in Oxford. The English institution is composed of about twenty-five colleges, separate and distinct. Each has its own buildings and athletic fields, and all are scattered at random through the town of Oxford. To be sure, the university has one or two buildings which are its own peculiar property, but these merely house an administrative head and are far from giving a true picture of Oxford.

The college is the real centre of the English institution. Each college has its own

faculty, its own lecture rooms, chapel, dormitories, dining hall, athletic fields and equipment. It is separate and distinct from all other colleges and carries on a keen rivalry with them in the matter of sports. Enrolling as it does an average student body of about 125, it is clearly evident that you have here a unit in which it is possible for each member to know every other member of his college, to be on familiar terms with all the faculty and to feel more or less "at home." Needless to say, this offers a strong contrast to the American institutions. The college is the unit and the university is very secondary. The American wishes to think in terms of the university, the English student in terms of his college. This is perhaps shown most clearly in the case of sports.

Every college has its own first and second football (rugby) team and the same applies to soccer, cricket, tennis, rowing, cross country and all the rest. Consequently there are sports for all, and all are expected to take part in some branch of athletics. It is essentially sport for sport's sake. The English student may play football and may make his college's second or even third team. To him this is quite satisfactory and marks the limit of his ambitions in this direction. He has no aspirations for the first team and certainly never dreams of the university team. He has his fun and is satisfied, but the American is not. With him it is a case of first team or none. Being a Rhodes scholar, he has athletic prowess. He at once aims at the first college team or the university team. The game being different from American football, he generally does not succeed, with the result that he drops all athletics. This to the Englishman is poor sportsmanship. There are at least two other teams that need him, and yet, because he cannot make team number one he loses interest, and the Englishman mentally gives him a black mark for that.

Most of the colleges have their own little debating societies and various other clubs. To the American, a graduate and leader of some large university in his own



Henry Taunt, Oxford

The Radcliffe and St. Mary's Spire from Brasenose Old Quad

country, these bodies are very small and insignificant. He may or may not try them. He wants the glamour of the university activity. But the way to the university club is through the despised college club. Needless to say, his college club is not going to give him much support if he has refused to support it, and so he finds that his inspirations for university leadership fall flat. And so the story goes.

The English student regards the college as his home and wishes to know it thoroughly. The American student is used to a broader horizon and seeks to know the university in general. The result is that his college feels slighted and politely tells him so whenever he seeks its support. In these circumstances he is liable to be quietly ignored in college activities and to receive the impression that the oversight is inten-

From G. R. S. Taylor's *Oxford*

New College: the Quadrangle and Exterior of Chapel and Hall

From G. R. S. Taylor's *Oxford*

Queen's College: the South Front from the High Street

tional. He is probably right; but remember that he, and not the college, is the main culprit. If he has no time for his college, then his college very naturally has less for him.

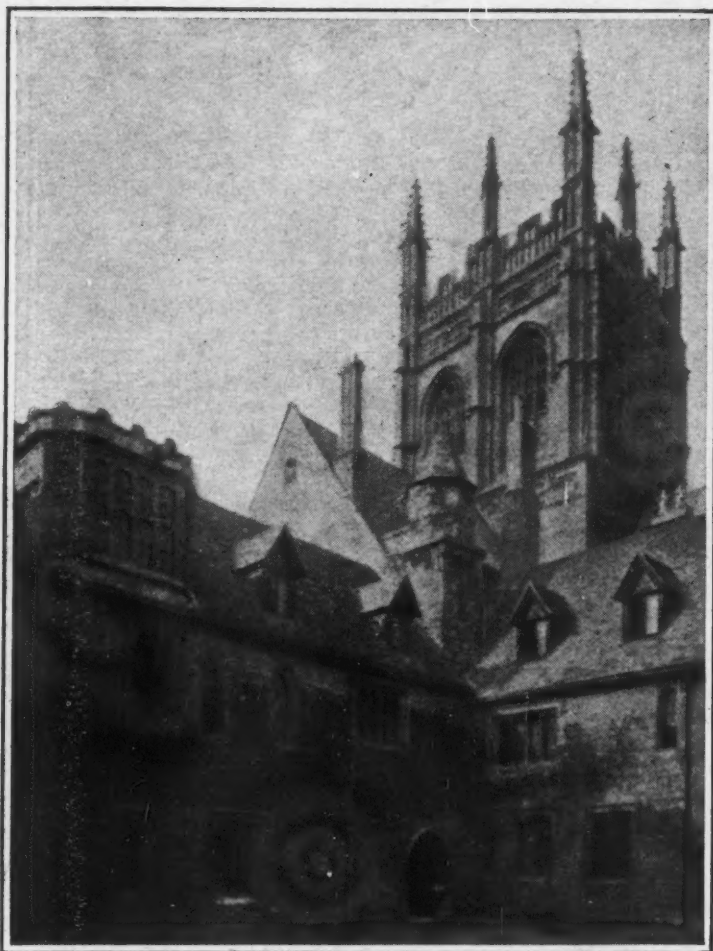
This peculiar college outlook of the average Oxford student is, I think, one cause of the American's finding it so difficult to fit into the picture. A second and equally important factor is the nature of Oxford's

traditions. The American is a peculiar contradiction. He comes from an institution whose traditions he has delighted to honor; he goes to Oxford and all too often feels that his main duty is to violate and change the traditions of this institution. These traditions have been in existence for many hundreds of years. Were he at an American institution, his conduct would call for prompt and drastic action from the



Henry Taunt, Oxford

Garden Front of St. John's—"perhaps the most lovely thing in Oxford"

From G. R. S. Taylor's *Oxford*

Merton College: The Mob Quad and Chapel

Senior Governing Board or some such body. The English institution depends purely on the force of public opinion and on the proctors (university police). Both are very effective and the traditions stand.

Some of these old customs are very interesting and one can easily see that they would bear heavily on American shoulders. For instance, dancing is not allowed in term, and even private dances at the homes of people in town are not tolerated. Again, the college gates are closed at five minutes past 9 every evening. Those within are locked in and cannot get out. Those outside can obtain entrance by "knocking in." This is permitted until 10:30 P. M. and then a small fine is charged, amounting to half a crown (about 60 cents) at midnight.

At midnight the gates are closed and no one can obtain entrance. To be out of the dormitories all night is, moreover, a very serious offense and may even lead to expulsion. Another peculiar custom which amuses the American is the proctor system of enforcing discipline. The university virtually has its own police force, consisting of two proctors, who are instructors (dons) in the institution, and they are assisted by eight plain-clothes men called "bullers" or, more familiarly, "bulldogs." This peculiar group is responsible for university discipline. In general, the town police force never interferes in student activities, leaving them entirely to the proctors. They enforce all rules, simply summoning offenders to their office and dispensing summary justice in the form of fines, and heavy fines at that. This system,

as I said, amuses the American as a relic of mediaevalism until the lightning suddenly falls on his own head. Then he is immediately impressed with the wonderful efficiency of some dark age institutions.

Needless to say, discipline enforced in this manner at times rouses the American to fury, especially as the proctors are generally men of his own age and treat him in very high-handed fashion. But really they execute their very difficult task with remarkable tact and consideration. It is only natural that the man from this side of the Atlantic who adopts the attitude that the proctors are a relic of barbarism should be treated rather drastically.

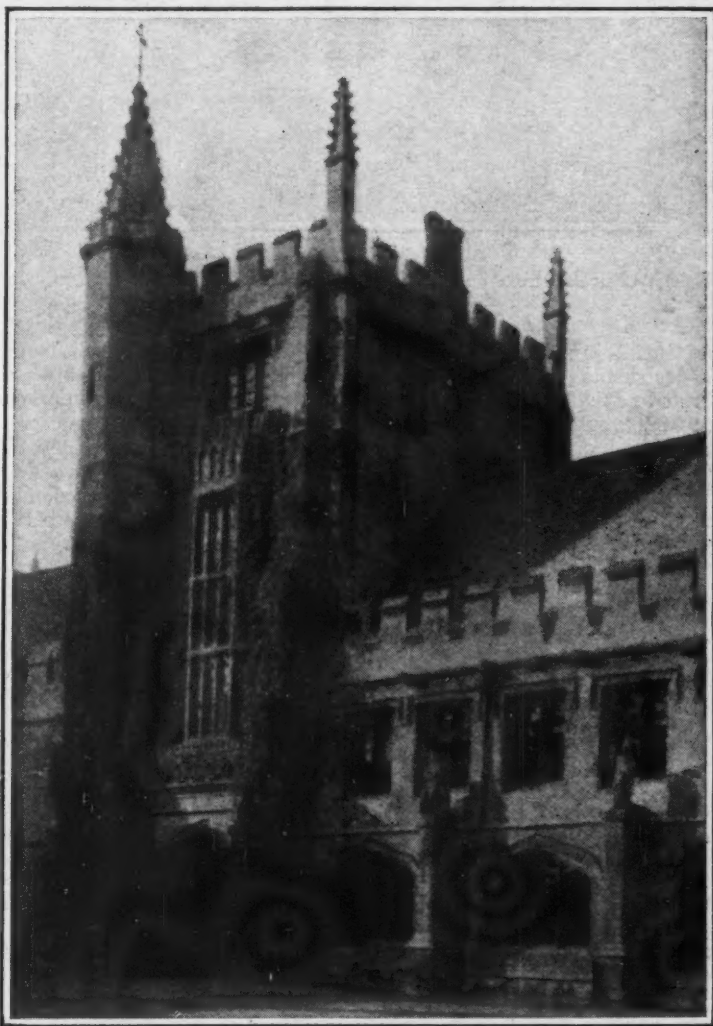
The Oxford student can and often does

drink to his heart's content. The authorities make very little effort to check this, and at times the instructors are by no means ashamed to go on drinking bouts with the students. Needless to say, the Rhodes scholar with a good Southern Methodist or Baptist background will become righteously indignant on this point. Again, that same student soon discovers that his relations with the fair sex are subject to careful supervision. The proctors are very annoying on this point and may even go so far as to stop a student and request an introduction to his companion, so as to make certain that relations are all that can be wished. To the English student this is merely their duty, but to the American it is an infringement on his inalienable rights as a free man and he will wax eloquent in his wrath at such childish treatment.

There are many little peculiarities which the American simply cannot fathom. There are no college yells; not even an attempt. Also, there are no college songs. There is no organized cheering, and, indeed, practically no cheering at all at the football games. All this convinces him that they need his enlightened New World ideas. Moreover, he is always certain to object strongly to the food and heating system. The food is excellent, but different—no pie, no ice cream and soda, no baked beans; in fact, the diet is deadly in its monotony to the Rhodes man. As for the heating system, I emphatically agree. How the English manage to live in a

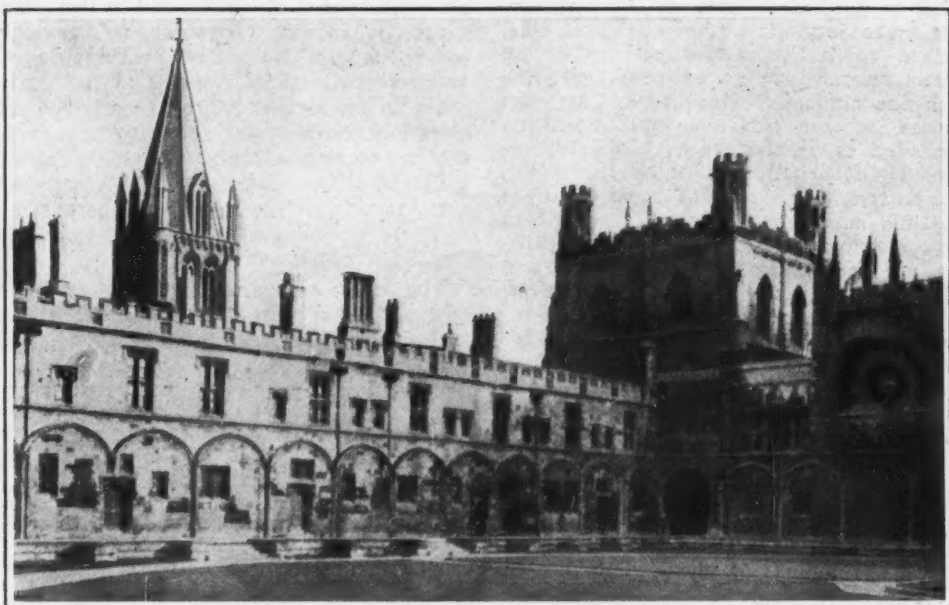
climate like that of Oxford with nothing but grate fires is simply beyond mere American comprehension. No central heating; a wet, chilly climate and a ridiculous little grate stuck in one corner of the room! Indeed, since all the windows are generally open, this can serve no other purpose than that of ornamentation. Here I strongly support every criticism. The English are barbarians and will probably all die of pneumonia in the near future.

The most exasperating of all Oxford's customs to the man from the United States is, however, its refusal to be reformed. Ox-



From G. R. S. Taylor's *Oxford*

Magdalen College: Founder's Tower and Cloisters

From G. R. S. Taylor's *Oxford*

Christ Church: the Tom Quadrangle, showing Exterior of Hall and Bell Tower and Cathedral Spire

ford insists on remaining Oxford. To the Rhodes scholar this is simply criminal. He has at least fifty excellent suggestions, any of which would go a long way toward making Oxford a real university; but it is no use. He just longs to raise the English from the depths of barbarism and mediaevalism in which they are wallowing and bring to them the pure light of America's culture, but they refuse to be raised, and that to the American is simply unthinkable.

THE COLLEGE ORGANIZATION

The college organization and the peculiar customs and traditions of Oxford are two factors which lead to situations to which the stranger finds it difficult to adapt himself. Another possible source of trouble is the method of study. Oxford observes three terms. College opens sometime in October for a period of eight weeks. Then there is a vacation of six weeks at Christmas. Another eight weeks and a six weeks' vacation at Easter. Then a final term of eight weeks, and Summer vacation of three months. Little stress is placed on lectures; the far-famed "tutorial" system is in vogue, and grading is almost entirely on examinations coming at the end of two or three years of work. However, I find that these customs, though different from those in

the United States, really cause little serious trouble to the American, who adapts himself very nicely at this particular point.

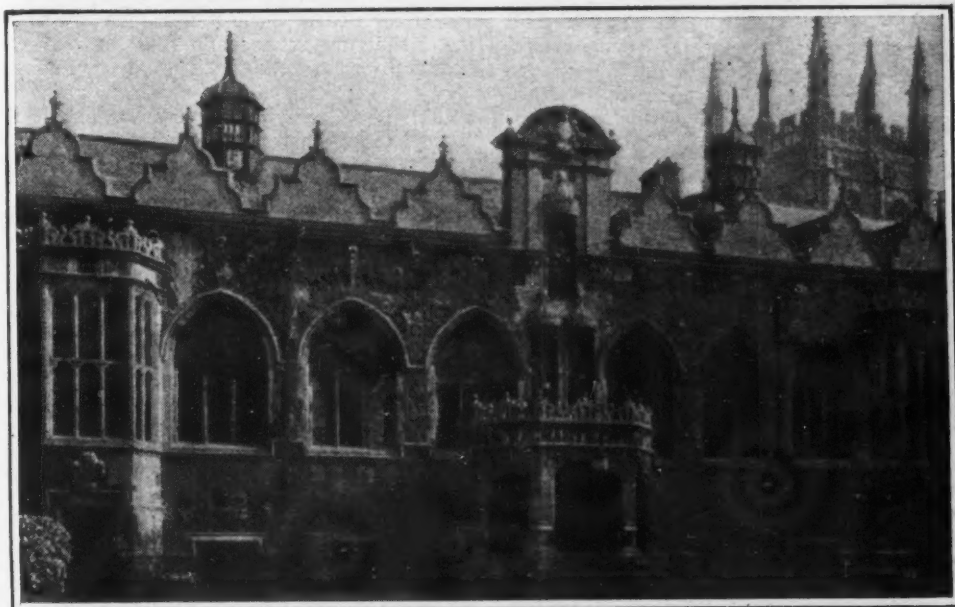
There is, however, a fourth factor which is of tremendous importance in causing friction for the Rhodes scholar at Oxford. This is really fundamental and overweighs the other three combined, for it arises from the different types represented by Oxford and by American students respectively. The English student at Oxford is drawn from the gentry of England and has all the traditions of his group. Social caste to him is a very real thing; his background is aristocratic, intellectual, cultural in the highest sense; he is a conservative, a man opposed to social changes, an enemy of democracy—which to him means socialism—and an Episcopalian; above all, he has the characteristic reserve of the English gentlemen, is a stickler for etiquette and a model of good breeding. Before going to Oxford he has been educated at a very exclusive private boarding school. The public school in our sense of the word—he would call it a "day school"—is a sign of social inferiority. Very few boys from day schools enter Oxford and those who do try to conceal the fact. Above all things, manual labor is beneath him. The idea of an English student at Oxford working his

way through by digging ditches in Summer or by waiting on table at the university is simply unthinkable. Oxford is a school for gentlemen and it would be impossible for an Englishman to do these things and still be a gentleman. Even those English students who are being helped through by scholarships—the true “scholars” at Oxford—would never dream of doing such a thing. They, too, are gentlemen. To be sure, they may need financial assistance, but they are gentlemen for all that and uphold their traditions as such.

Now, project 200 Rhodes scholars into this picture, and what do you get? The American, because of the very conditions under which he is picked, is the most energetic and enthusiastic in his State. Hard working, aggressive, a man who has probably earned his own way through college by digging ditches—and is proud of it—a born leader and one who has been able to mold the student opinion in his own university, you suddenly drop him into an environment where these very qualities are exact signs of the undesirable, of the commoner, of the man for whom Oxford was not intended and whom she has never learned to respect. Any reasonable human being would expect an explosion. Actually the explosions are few and far between. The reasons for this are threefold. In the

first place, the Rhodes scholar, though a rabid exponent of Americanism, is generally gifted with common sense. He realizes his position and does his best to fit in. Somehow Oxford's very atmosphere discourages radicalism. Secondly, the Englishman at Oxford is, with few exceptions, exactly what he is supposed to be, namely, a gentleman. He may and does disapprove of many things about the American, but he realizes that the latter is more or less his guest and does his best at least to keep his dislike from becoming too evident. Thirdly, the Rhodes Trust realizes the difficulty and is yearly doing more and more to give the American a true picture of what he is approaching.

The total result is a slow awakening to the fact, on the part of the American, that he is at Oxford to study the English viewpoint and not to reform the institution. This is an extremely difficult idea for the Rhodes scholar to absorb. He simply must start something: lead a reform movement, begin a fraternity system, introduce a college yell—anything under heaven to get a little “pep” into the place. This is just exactly what Oxford resents. For twenty years Oxford has been slowly hammering home the fact that it has no intention of becoming an English edition of Harvard or Yale.



From G. R. S. Taylor's *Oxford*

Oriel College: The Quadrangle

The Return of the Nations to the Gold Standard

By WILLIAM ATHERTON DU PUY

CURRENCY EXPERT, UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EFFICIENCY

WITH the reestablishment of the gold standard in most of the countries that had to abandon it temporarily during the war, we see the yellow metal fighting what seems to be the final battle for undisputed enthronement in the treasure vaults of nations. It has been fighting for a place which it had almost attained before the World War but which it seemed in danger of losing during and after the conflict. The position of gold, it would seem, is now becoming more secure than ever before.

To illustrate what is meant by the supremacy of gold, let us mention an incident reported by a Government scientist who was not long ago studying the gizzard of a duck to determine its dietary habits. He found in it three gold nuggets. This does not mean that ducks habitually eat gold. It does, however, reveal a characteristic of gold. It shows that gold occurs in nature in the free state and that fact may have given an early urge to human progress a million or so years earlier than it might otherwise have started. The duck had picked up the nuggets while eating gravel for its digestion's sake. It could not have picked up iron in the same way because that metal occurs in nature as iron oxide in the red hillside. Copper, silver, nickel, are found with other elements in chemical combinations. But such is the nature of gold that it may lie in the pure state as nuggets among the gravel, as yellow dust in the sand, as free veins in quartz.

Gold was the first of all the metals to be used by man. This was because it was free in nature. Some savage in the long ago must have found a golden pebble, must have put it on one rock and struck it with another. He found that the yellow pebble did not fly into pieces as do most pebbles. It flattened out. It could be hammered into one shape and another. So was the difference between rock and metal discovered. So was a way found to work gold. Trinkets were made of it. It was a beautiful metal. It was used for ornament long before money was invented. Savage peoples in many parts of the world learned to work gold and

to prize it highly. Explorers found a negro King in the interior of Africa who sat on a golden stool as a throne. The Australian aborigines, when their continent was first discovered, had golden arrow heads. The American Indians had golden ornaments. The Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru had hoards of gold, which were taken from them by the Spaniards. In Bible times Kings built up treasures of gold. It was gathered into the temples. These hoards became the chief spoils of war in early times.

Gold, however, was little used as money. There was not enough of it to serve this purpose. In the meantime early man, having learned something of metal-working through gold, discovered how to extract copper from its ore. Copper was much more plentiful than gold. It was first the pot metal and then money for the people. It was the first metal money. It was, however, too plentiful, too cheap, and silver took its place two or three hundred years before Caesar's time, and became the chief money of the world for nearly 2,000 years. Europe used it all the time it was climbing toward civilization. Charlemagne, the great French Emperor of the eighth century, made a pound of silver the money standard of Europe. In French to this day *argent* means money—all money. The real meaning of the word, however, is "silver."

At the time of Columbus there was a great shortage of money in the world. The age when rivers of gold would flow from the mines of the world had not yet come. Gold was still scarce. Paper money had not come into use. There was little but silver and not enough of that. The progress of the world was being held back because of a lack of money. The Spaniards found silver mines in Mexico rich beyond their dreams. This silver went to Europe and was made into money. There were actual ship loads of it. It helped the world to go forward, for it made it possible to do many things that could not have been done without large amounts of money. Yet even this increase in the amount of money in the world was but a hint of what was to come.

Gold had been prized above all else during all this time, but it could not serve so big a purpose as that of being used as money for the nations, because there was not enough of it.

THE CENTURY OF GOLD

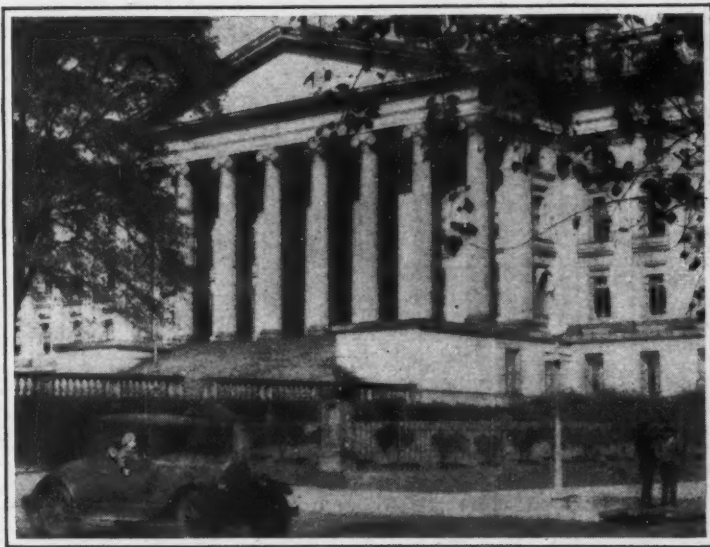
The swing of the world from silver money to gold money has taken place during the last hundred years. Up to the year 1800 all the people and all the nations taken together had accumulated only about \$300,000,000 in gold. The United States alone now has more than ten times that much. Gold in large amounts is a very new thing in the world. A hundred years ago the mines of the world were producing only about \$8,000,000 a year in gold. Of late, since 1906 in fact, they have been yielding about \$400,000,000 a year. More gold is being produced each year now than existed in the possession of man a hundred years ago.

The most important date in the history of gold is 1848. It was during that year that James Marshall picked up a lump of gold in the tailrace of Sutter's sawmill in El Dorado County, Cal. This started the pioneers of that State to hunting gold. They found it here and there. Word of the richness of the discoveries spread all around the world. People went gold mad. From everywhere they came to the West in a wild hunt for gold. Three years later two gold hunters in Australia scraped up three pounds of gold dust from the bed of a stream in a single day. Not long after that another very wonderful thing happened in Australia. Two nuggets of pure gold were found that were the biggest nuggets that the world had ever known. Each of them weighed 180 pounds. The wild rush to Australia was like that to California. All around the world gold hunting became the rage. The metal was found in many places. In a little while gold was coming from the mines ten times as fast as it had ever come before.

In 1890 another event took place which marked the second

important step in the great outpouring of gold that was to be the feature of the twenty years that followed that date. Gold had been discovered in the Transvaal, now part of the Union of South Africa. Among the hardy spirits that went down there were an Englishman named Forrest and a Scotchman named McArthur, who worked together in their gold mining, and as they worked they found a new way to get gold out of ore. Their method is called the cyanide process. By that process the gold that is in the ore is dissolved out of it by a chemical which is then made to put it down again. By this process money could be made from working ore that was not good enough to pay under the old methods. What had before been considered poor ores now became rich. Gold could be taken from many new mines that could not have been worked before. It is probably true that since the world began nobody has ever worked out a scheme for doing a simple thing that has made so much money. Yet strangely the names of these discoverers are not known to one man in a day's ride.

Here is the way the output of gold grew in the years that followed. In 1890 the output was \$113,000,000; in 1895, \$198,000,000; in 1900, \$255,000,000; in 1905, \$380,000,000, and in 1910, \$454,000,000. The yearly output has remained at about \$400,000,000 a year ever since. Thus about the



Paramount News

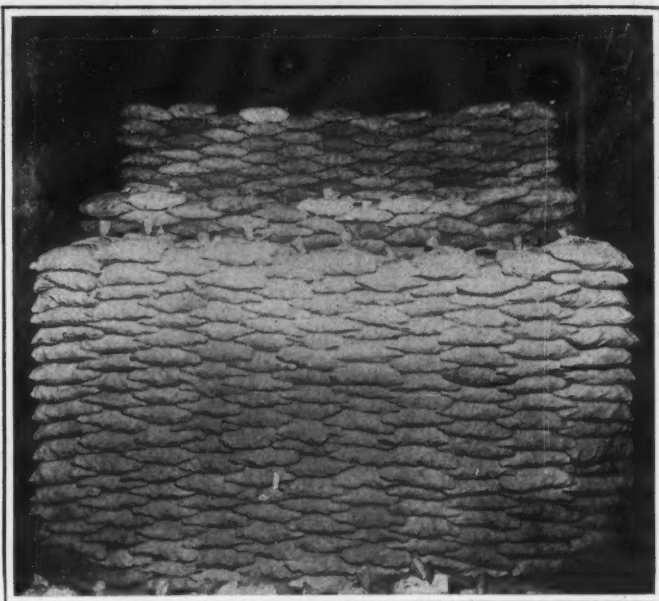
A view of the United States Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., where a supply of gold and other currency is kept on hand

year 1910 there was \$6,000,000,000 worth of gold in the possession of man. A scant hundred years earlier there had been one-twentieth of that amount.

Yet (although figures are not available) it is generally accepted as a fact that the gold that has been taken out of the earth has not been worth as much as was spent in its pursuit. Many men have spent lifetimes in the hunt for gold and have never found it. Innumerable shafts have been run into lonesome mountainsides that have never encountered pay dirt. He who wanders among the solitudes of the Rockies, for example, is quite likely to encounter the scars on the hillsides left by prospectors who have worked claims that never produced. The occasional claim has proved to be a bonanza. The occasional strip of sand has yielded its yellow dust most profitably for a time. On the whole, however, more has been spent in the quest for gold than was ever realized from it.

PRICE OF GOLD

Whoever procures an ounce of gold anywhere in the world has his logical market in the treasuries of nations. Any one of them will buy that gold at the unchanging world price of \$20.67 an ounce. Nobody will pay more than \$20.67 for his gold, for the treasuries will not only buy at that price but will sell at it. So is the "open market" for gold maintained. If the gold originates at a mine it is likely to take the form of bullion. It may be washed out of sand or gravel by individual miners and appear as dust or nuggets. Whichever type of miner comes to possess gold he naturally sends it to the Government assay office which he can reach most quickly and economically. This gold is rarely pure. It often, for example, has a bit of silver in it. The assay office determines the purity of the gold delivered to it and pays for it on the basis of that purity. The gold usually arrives by express but may be delivered in person.



Keystone

Gold and silver vault in the Treasury in Washington, D. C., containing \$47,000,000 in coin when this photograph was taken

Treasuries are indifferent. They make their payments as the grocer buys eggs from the farmer.

One of the most remarkable features of the recent history of gold is its accumulation in the United States. By about 1910 this country possessed a billion dollars worth of actual gold, the first such hoard ever got together beneath the sun. Then during the war came the deluge which brought to the United States two and a half billions of dollars worth of gold to add to the billion she already had. The nations of Europe must have supplies and when their normal credits were exhausted they must shift actual gold from their treasuries to America to establish additional credits. They knew that, if confidence were lost in this currency, financial destruction was nigh. They clung to their gold as long as they could, but when there was no other way they sent it in ships to the United States, where it provided them with the essentials for carrying on the war.

When the war was over there was the need of the raw materials necessary to making a new start. The nations of Europe were bankrupt. They had no credit. To buy in America it was necessary to send more

gold. In the two or three years that followed the close of the war they sent over an additional billion dollars worth of gold. So accustomed had the world become to the spectacular that little attention was paid to this continued drift of gold to America. Yet it was a fact that before the war a similar one billion in the possession of this Government had been the only billion ever held by one agency since time began. Now the United States had four and a half billions of it, half the monetary gold of the world. By April 1, 1927, this amount had increased to \$4,598,782,795, but in recent months there has been a tendency on the part of other countries to withdraw considerable amounts of gold from the United States, so that this country's stock of monetary gold showed a net loss for the year 1927 of over \$150,000,000.

Currency students had long before reluctantly concluded that the only way to make a money retain its value was to put something of unquestioned value back of it. The promises to pay of the greatest of nations were not sufficient. The holders of currencies had to know that they could at all times be exchanged for something with an actual intrinsic value. Gold had come to be accepted practically all over the world as the most convenient article of intrinsic value to be held as a guarantee of the stability of currencies. Yet at the end of the war monetary gold had been drained from the treasuries of Europe and had been accumulated in predominant amounts in the vaults of a single nation. The nations that had lost their gold began a search for some substitute, for some plan for stabilizing money, other than placing gold back of it. This was a time of radical changes in the world. Perhaps a new scheme of money could be devised that would displace the old order of currencies guaranteed by gold deposited for their redemption. The discovery of a substitute system would have been greatly to the benefit of those nations that had lost their gold. It would have left the United States with four and a half billions of gold on its hands—gold the value of which depended on its use in the vaults of nations as a guarantee of currency redemptions. The discovery of a substitute system to take the place of gold might have wrecked the financial structure of the United States and plunged it into financial chaos comparable with that of the most unfortunate of European countries. But no substitute was found.

A few countries, notably the United States and Switzerland, had stable currencies. They were stable, obviously, because they were redeemable in gold. Other nations began to attempt the re-establishment of currencies redeemable in gold. The action of Austria, one of the hardest pressed nations of them all, was a milestone to this end. Austria's currency had become practically worthless. Under the guidance of the League of Nations Austria was granted a loan and provided with the nucleus of a gold fund against which to issue a new currency. Her people immediately came to the support of that gold fund and added to it. A new currency, redeemable in gold, was issued. It retained its value. It provided a hard-pressed nation with a stable currency. One nation after another has followed this lead. Poland scraped together from among her own people enough gold for deposit as a guarantee of a new currency. Hungary followed the example of Austria and received aid from the League of Nations. Germany was given gold under the Dawes plan to support her new paper issues. Then Great Britain, long the gold market of the world, returned to gold payments, a practice that had been discontinued during the war and which had resulted in the pound dropping far below its face value. The following is an approximate list (compiled by one of the most authoritative American financial institutions) of the countries on a gold or gold exchange standard with the relative dates of their return to that standard: Austria (January, 1923), Colombia (July, 1923), Sweden (April, 1924), Germany (October, 1924), Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Holland, Dutch East Indies, Dantzic (all in April, 1925), Canada and South Africa (July, 1925), Albania (September, 1925), Finland and Chile (January, 1926), Belgium (October, 1926), Denmark and Bulgaria (January, 1927), Argentina and Ecuador (August, 1927), Poland (November, 1927), Italy (December, 1927), Estonia (January, 1928) and Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia and Lithuania (various dates).

The nations, having failed to find a substitute, are all going back to gold. There is little doubt that the attempts of the pre-war period to find a substitute, and the failure of those attempts have resulted in a more unquestioned enthronement of gold than ever before. It has become the one measure of money value throughout the world, the one common denominator. No rival for its place is in the field. Its position is undisputed.

Intermarriage of Immigrants With Native Americans

By HERMAN FRANK

WRITER ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SUBJECTS

THE proper incorporation of the foreign-born and of their children into the nation is doubtless a question of fundamental importance. In its biological aspect the subject is inseparably bound up with the question of intermarriage between the various ethnic groups in America. Intermarriage provides the most direct and powerful force by which the present and the next generations may be truly Americanized; that is, welded together into a social and cultural amalgam.

The United States Census Bureau recently published a monograph entitled *Immigrants and Their Children*, by Professor Niles Carpenter of the University of Buffalo, which presents in clear form a mass of selected material hitherto available only in scattered volumes and records, and which devotes a few chapters entirely to the problem of intermarriage.

The relative scarcity of females among the immigrants imposes upon many foreign-born males the necessity either of remaining single or of looking for mates among the native women. On the other hand, the native women are inclined to accept marriages with foreign-born men by reason of the scarcity of marriageable males in the native white population, particularly in the urban communities. Thus the bulk of mixed marriages is between immigrant men and American-born women. Professor Carpenter's inquiry developed convincing statistical verification of this obvious conclusion:

1. The rate of intermarriage, as shown by birth statistics, is higher for the fathers than for the mothers. For every 1,000 foreign-born men who were fathers of children born in 1920, 237.6 had native wives, while only 138.9 out of every 1,000 foreign-born mothers were married to American-born fathers.

2. The mixed marriages were in 1920 equivalent to 23.7 per cent. of the "pure" native marriages in the registration cities, as against only 8.7 per cent. in the rural parts of the registration area. The perfectly evident inference is that the native Americans intermarry with the immigrants

more often in the cities than in the country. This conclusion can be explained on the following grounds: There is a slight excess of native males over females in the country; so the American girl, in the rural districts, is under no particular pressure to marry a foreign-born husband. In the city, however, where the native women outnumber the men, while the foreign men outnumber the foreign-born women, American girls must needs accept immigrant husbands or go unmarried. Moreover, in the city, the relatively large number of immigrants makes it more probable that any given native woman will meet a foreign-born man than she would in the country.

3. The immigrants intermarry with the native Americans more often in the country than in the city. In 1920, the mixed marriages equalled 40.9 per cent. of the "pure" foreign marriages in the urban places, as compared with 69.2 per cent. in the rural areas. This can be explained in the following manner: In the first place, the large excess of immigrant males over females in the country induces more immigrant men to seek American-born mates there than in the cities. In the second place, the large proportion of native-born persons in the country makes it mathematically more likely that a foreigner will meet a native than is the case in the cities.

4. Of all the children having at least one parent foreign, the bulk was composed, in 1920, of the offspring of marriages between native American women and foreign men. Taking the proportion of births of mixed and foreign parentage to the total white births in the registration area, in 1920, it appears that while for every 100 children of "pure" native stock there are only fifteen children of mixed stock, for every 100 children of "pure" immigrant stock there are as many as forty-seven children of mixed native and foreign stock. It follows that, though America's melting pot is fusing the immigrant and native stock quite rapidly, the majority of the matings, in so far as the immigrant is concerned, is between the men and women of the foreign-born stock. In the total foreign-

born population, 761.8 out of 1,000 foreign-born fathers have married foreign-born women.

FOREIGN-BORN FATHERS

The following table shows the distribution of mothers per 1,000 foreign-born fathers by the mother's country of birth—this being either (A) the same country as the fathers or (B) the United States or (C) some foreign country other than that of the father's birth.

Table I: Distribution of Mothers per 1,000 Immigrant Fathers, for White Children, in the Registration Area: 1920.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FATHER (PER 1,000)	DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS			Total
	A	B	C	
Hungary	856.2	91.3	52.5	1,000
Italy	828.0	153.2	18.8	1,000
Poland	815.2	144.1	40.7	1,000
Austria	772.5	157.6	69.9	1,000
Russia	752.9	140.8	106.3	1,000
Ireland	707.5	238.7	53.8	1,000
Denmark, Nor- way, Sweden	481.8	461.2	57.0	1,000
Canada	386.9	557.2	55.9	1,000
England, Scot- land, Wales	337.8	535.2	127.0	1,000
Germany	295.3	589.3	115.4	1,000

Thus, for instance, 828 out of every 1,000 Italian fathers have Italian spouses, 153 have married American-born women, and nineteen have been mated with immigrant women other than Italians. It is only in three groups, namely the Germans, Canadians, and English, Scotch, and Welsh, that the majority of the matings, so far from being within the particular immigrant group, is made up of marriages between the immigrant men and American-born women. In the case of the Scandinavians, nearly one-half of the exogamous matings, i. e., marriages between men and women of different racial or national stocks, was made up of unions between immigrants from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden and American-born girls.

As a general conclusion, then, Professor Carpenter advances the proposition that when the immigrants seek their mates from without their own group, they usually marry Americans. Accordingly, the figures in Column B exceed throughout those in Column C.

Native American girls do not seem particularly prone to intermarriage with immigrants. Although the sex ratios of the native and foreign population is such as to encourage marriages of native women with foreign-born men, out of every 1,000 native mothers only 88.7 marry foreign-born men, whereas 138.9 out of every 1,000 foreign-born mothers marry American-born men.

Owing to the large excess of immigrant males over females, the general rule that in the various immigrant breeds, with a few exceptions, the majority of marriages is between the men and women of the same race is still more pronounced in the case of the foreign-born women. In the total immigrant population, 856.1 out of 1,000 foreign-born mothers have married foreign-born men, whereas only 761.8 out of every 1,000 foreign-born fathers have been mated with immigrant women.

The following table shows the number of fathers (A) born in the same country as their immigrant wives, (B) of American-born fathers and (C) of fathers born in foreign countries other than those of their wives per 1,000 foreign-born mothers:

Table II: Distribution of Fathers per 1,000 Immigrant Mothers, for White Children, in the Registration Area: 1920.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER (PER 1,000)	DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS			Total
	A	B	C	
Italy	970.6	21.8	7.6	1,000
Poland	910.6	39.9	49.5	1,000
Russia	867.7	61.3	71.0	1,000
Hungary	849.9	47.9	102.2	1,000
Austria	803.0	64.3	132.7	1,000
Denmark, Nor- way, Sweden	652.1	283.7	64.2	1,000
Ireland	612.9	282.8	104.3	1,000
Germany	421.6	431.3	147.1	1,000
Canada	411.4	508.3	80.3	1,000
England, Scot- land, Wales	373.1	469.4	157.5	1,000

Thus, 970 out of every 1,000 Italian mothers have been mated with Italian men, while 22 have husbands born in the United States, and 8 have married foreigners other than Italians, and so on.

A comparison of these two tables brings one feature into bold relief: In every nationality but the Irish the trend is toward a lower rate of intermarriage among women than among men, presumably because in each of them the men outnumber the women. The Irish show an opposite tendency, namely, a higher rate of intermarriage among females than males.

This is, on the theory advanced by Professor Carpenter, a result of the sex ratio incident to the Irish-born stock in the American population. Contrary to the tendency displayed by most foreign-born groups, the Irish stock contains more females than males. Some of the Irish women, therefore, would have to seek husbands outside their own group, or go unmarried, while the Irish men would not leave their race group in search of wives. Thus, only 612.9 per 1,000 Irish mothers have married Irish husbands (Table II),

whereas 707.5 out of every 1,000 Irish fathers have Irish wives (Table I).

GERMAN-AMERICAN MARRIAGES

The conspicuously large number of German-American marriages suggests the existence of unions between men or women born in Germany and American-born mates of German parentage. This assumption cannot, however, be statistically verified. Consequently, the German group is recognized by Professor Carpenter as an exception to the otherwise general rule that in various immigrants breeds the majority of marriages is ethnically endogamous, *i. e.*, within the same racial group.

There is a wide variation in the rates at which different foreign-born elements are fusing with the American stock. The above tables illustrate the varying rate of biological assimilation among the various races. It cannot escape notice that a rather distinct cleavage appears between the "old" and "new" immigrant types, *i. e.*, between the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe as against those from Latin and Slavonic countries. The highest rate for the "new" immigrants is 64.3 for the Austrian woman (Table II) which is far below the lowest for the "old"—282.8 for the Irish women. Again, among the "old" immigrants, the lowest rate of intermarriage for men, which is 238.7 for the Irish (Table I), considerably exceeds the highest rate for the "new" immigrants, namely, 157.6 for the Austrians.

According to Professor Carpenter, proximity of the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe to the native Americans is likely to act in favor of intermarriages between the American-born and the "old" immigrants. The latter are, first of all, largely rural in distribution, where the foreign-born population is less numerous than in the city, and where accordingly there would be a greater probability for any given immigrant to meet Americans of his or her own age. The immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, are largely, though not exclusively, domiciled in cities, and in immigrant colonies within those cities, where they are unlikely to meet any native Americans under conditions conducive to matrimony.

In the second place, it is to be presumed that most of the "old" immigrants, having been in this country somewhat longer than

the "new," and speaking languages in many ways similar to English, are therefore economically and socially further advanced than the immigrants from Latin and Eastern European countries, and so are more eligible for marriage outside their group.

Of still greater importance is the influence of religious and racial differences. The "old" immigrants belong as a class to religious groups similar to those dominant among the native American population, *i. e.*, Protestant, while the "new" do not, being mostly Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and Jewish. In so far, therefore, as religious difference is a bar to intermarriage, it would operate more strongly against the marriage of "new" immigrants with natives than of "old."

Finally, there is always the possibility of mixed native and foreign marriages, the American-born husband or wife being a son or a daughter of an immigrant of the same nationality as is his or her foreign-born mate. More of such weddings would occur among the "old" than among the "new" immigrants, for the second generation "old" immigrants far outnumber the second generation "new" immigrants, especially around the ages at which marriage usually takes place.

As has been shown, the outstanding phenomenon in connection with the intermarriage problem is the general tendency on the part of the immigrant toward amalgamation with the native American element. So the immigrants begin within the same generation in which they come to this country the process of mingling their blood with that of the American type. Needless to say, the native Americans who intermarry with immigrants are not necessarily the descendants of the original Colonial stock. More often than not they are second, third, or fourth generation immigrants, as is being repeatedly pointed out by Professor Carpenter.

Now even those native Americans who are only one generation from Europe are Americans in speech and in manners. Many of them are American in blood to a greater or lesser extent. In consequence, the marriages of these natives and foreigners are, from the angle of cultural conditions as well as from the ethnic point of view, clear indications of the beginnings of a real Americanization on the part of the immigrants.



The Evolution Theory Entering a New Phase

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

THAT the evolution theory is entering upon a new phase, "emergent evolution," which will cause everybody to realize that it vitally affects his personal well-being, was the interesting thesis presented at the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Nashville by Dr. William E. Ritter, President of Science Service and Emeritus Professor of Zoology at the University of California. Replacing the emphasis upon the anthropoid origin of man, the rise of races, the origin of species, and other still important and well-authenticated portions of the evolution theory, Dr. Ritter predicted that prime attention in the future will probably be paid to the following three factors:

1. Individual men and women, boys and girls, and even just born babies are to loom larger in biological science than they have heretofore. It will be realized that nature cares for the individual as well as the race.

2. The doctrine of the fundamental independence and separableness of body and mind is marked for extinction. There is no trace of such a thing as a body independent of a mind or a mind independent of a body. Emergent evolution will go far toward delivering civilization from the nightmare of the materialistic-mechanistic philosophy.

3. Interest will shift from problems of exactly when and how and where man originated to questions to what he is and may become as through and through a natural being. The order of nature is truly universal, limitless in space and time, self-adequate and unified from minutest detail to mightiest system. There is neither place nor need anywhere for such a conception as that of the supernatural.

"There is left no trace of doubt," said Dr. Ritter, "about the adequacy of the creative power of the natural order to produce man, not only with all his physical but with all his spiritual attributes.

"Most vital is the perception that religion, based on probably the most powerful and universal of all human emotions, the sexual

emotion only excepted, is natural in the same sense that all other emotions are. Much of the best modern thinking seems already to have gone thus far. But the further step, apparently made inevitable by the conception of emergence, is that the religious emotion is a response to the natural order. It does not depend on a supernatural order, or even a belief in such an order, as has been so generally supposed. Common interpretation has put the cart before the horse in this, as in so many other of man's efforts at interpretation—especially interpretation of his own nature. Almost certainly man's belief in the supernatural has resulted from his efforts toward a rational explanation of the peculiar form of his emotion here involved. Even yet the natural order to which this emotion is a response so vastly outdistances his factual knowledge and his powers of scientific generalization concerning it that it is not surprising he should have created and still hold in imagination—that is to say, should make hypotheses of—the existence of bodies and powers quite outside of and beyond the natural order."

EXPERIMENTAL EVOLUTION

In the biological experimental laboratories of the country there have been in progress during the past few months important investigations in experimental evolution. X-rays, long an important tool of science, have been turned upon the living organism and have been found to produce effects hitherto unsuspected. This well-known type of radiation is found to have literally miraculous powers to change the course of events in the development of living organisms, and to leave so deep an impress on their substance that their descendants, even to the last generation, will show the effect of their ancestors' experience. Professor Winterton C. Curtis and Raymond A. Ritter of the zoology department at the University of Missouri experimented on a small marine animal related to the jellyfishes, which reproduces itself by constantly budding off new individuals very

much as a tree produces branches. After exposure to the X-rays for ninety minutes the animals lost the power of producing new individuals, although the original parent portion remained alive.

PROFESSOR MULLER'S EXPERIMENTS

To the scientist who achieved artificial evolution, the \$1,000 prize of the 1927 Nashville meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was awarded. The recipient was Professor H. J. Muller of the University of Texas, and his paper that was adjudged notable by a jury of scientists was titled: "Effects of X-Radiation on Genes and Chromosomes." Professor Muller using the X-rays as a tool has touched and changed the minute invisible hereditary particles within the reproductive cells of fruit flies. These genes, as they are called, control the characteristics of the organism to be developed and when changed by the action of the X-rays sometimes have the power to pass on to future generations the changes that the X-rays have caused. Thus when a change, or "mutation," is caused by Professor Muller's X-rays, artificial evolution has actually been achieved. In nature the mutations occur only infrequently, so seldom in fact that we are likely to think that the development of our animals and plants has ceased. Yet occasionally in natural processes a mutant, one different from the rest, appears. Upon these slight changes it seems probable that the evolution of all living things has been built.

X-rays, as used by Professor Muller, have the power of speeding up evolution 150 times or more. The red eyes of his fruit flies are sometimes turned white, their wings are changed in shape and size. New sorts of flies are produced. In most cases the evolution is not beneficial to the flies. Most of the new forms would soon die and pass out of the picture in the natural struggle for existence. But occasionally one is produced that is an improvement over the past. What use will Professor Muller's achievements have in the future? Let him answer in his own words: "The work on the application of X-rays to the hereditary particles has gone far enough to show definitely that permanent changes of varied kinds can be produced in them so that the characteristics of later generations become altered in very many ways in fruit flies and also, as the work of Dr. L. J. Stadler of the University of Missouri shows, in corn and barley. The extension of such work to other organisms, especially to domestic animals, mammals that can be bred in the

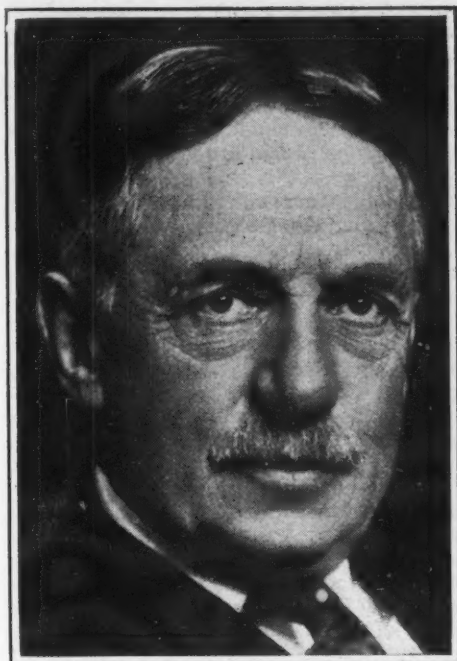
laboratory, and crop plants in general, is therefore urgent, for we cannot yet be sure that these organisms will be able to tolerate the doses of rays necessary to produce permanent hereditary changes. If they cannot, other means must be looked for. If they can, the method should become a practicable one for the use of breeders. Meanwhile the fruit flies furnish one of the best materials for probing further into the nature of the changes produced and into the nature of the genes which become changed."

EFFECTS OF X-RAY

Some of the first results of X-ray experiments on warm-blooded animals were made by Professor Robert T. Hance of the University of Pittsburgh. The hair color of mice exposed to very light doses of the rays in his laboratory was radically changed. Normally "mouse-colored" mice of mixed ancestry went completely white after being rayed, while pure-bred mice of the same color changed in the opposite direction and became darker. Dr. H. J. Bagg of Memorial Hospital, New York City, and Dr. C. R. Halter, of Cornell University Medical College, working in collaboration, were also among the first to obtain positive results with warm-blooded animals. Their mice developed certain marked bodily defects, such as only one kidney instead of two, abnormal eyes, and legs in bad condition at birth. Such defects occur among mice bred under ordinary conditions, but not so often as among X-rayed animals.

Plants as well as animals respond to X-ray treatment. Professor T. H. Goodspeed of the University of California has obtained results in the breeding of X-rayed tobacco plants which are comparable with those of Professor Muller on fruit-flies. The new varieties produced in this way have a stronger growth and produce more flowers than their cousins descended from un-rayed parents. Professor L. J. Stadler of the University of Missouri has conducted similar experiments with corn and barley. In these, as in all the other animals and plants on which the treatment has been tried, the hereditary units, or genes, have been knocked out of place and more or less violently rearranged, resulting in forms of life wholly new to the universe.

It is agreed on all sides at the gathering of scientific men that the past year has been one of revolution in the study of heredity among living things, comparable with 1859, when Darwin published *The*



Fowler

HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

President of the American Museum of Natural History, who was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its meeting at Nashville

Origin of Species, and 1900, the year of the rediscovery of Mendel's law.

PROGRESS IN ELECTRICAL THEORY

Not only in the biological section of the various scientific meetings held at the end of 1927 did the X-rays play a prominent part, but, as they have for a quarter of a century, they appeared in a prominent place upon the program of the physicists. Experimental evidence in favor of some of the newest developments in electrical theory has been obtained by Dr. C. J. Davisson of Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York City. These experiments were concerned with the measurement of the way in which a beam of electrons is scattered by a single crystal of nickel. They showed that the scattering was governed by the same laws as those which govern the scattering of X-rays by a crystal. "The scattering of X-rays by a crystal results in the production of strong scattered beams in just certain directions," Dr. Davisson stated, "and this fact has always been explained on the hypothesis that X-rays are an electro-

magnetic wave disturbance of the same sort as radio waves and visible light. Our experiments show that a beam of electrons shows these same characteristic scattering effects as X-rays. The inference seems to be that there is some sort of a wave-motion associated with the motion of a beam of electrons."

The experiments, which were performed jointly with Dr. L. H. Germer of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, showed that the observed wave-length of the electron beam was exactly that which is predicted by the quantum theory. The source of Dr. Davisson's electrons was a hot filament just as in ordinary radio tubes. The voltage used ranged from about 50 to 375. The beam of electrons impinged on a nickel crystal, and some of them were absorbed in it, while others were scattered back from the surface. Of those that are scattered back some come back without having lost any speed; they have elastic encounters with the crystal like the impact of a billiard ball on a cushion. A little collecting device was arranged so that it would be moved to various positions in front of the crystal to find how many electrons were scattered in the various directions without loss of speed. With this arrangement the number of electrons scattered in different directions was found to depend on the direction in the same way as does the scattering of X-rays by a crystal.

The situation confronting physicists with regard to electrons is now something like the dilemma confronting the theory of light. For many years all the facts concerning light could be explained by assuming it to be simply a wave motion. Then the quantum theory, in the hands of Planck, Einstein and Compton, showed that radiation had also to be regarded as having something corpuscular about it. Similarly, for many years electrons were believed to be simply corpuscles of negative electricity. But now recent developments in quantum theory, confirmed by these experiments, show that there is something wavelike about them. The award of the 1927 Nobel prize for physics recognized the importance of research upon X-rays and the American participation in these researches. This high honor was conferred upon Dr. Arthur H. Compton, 35-year-old Professor of Physics at the University of Chicago, who divided the prize with Dr. C. T. R. Wilson of Cambridge University, England, whose method of making visible the tiny particles shot off from sub-

stances like radium was employed by Dr. Compton in his work.

LAWS OF OPTICS APPLICABLE TO X-RAYS

In the early days when the physicists were just beginning to find out about X-rays, it was believed that they were somewhat different in their properties from light and other wave phenomena. But within the last few years it has been found that the familiar laws of optics can be applied to not only the low frequency but the very high frequency X-rays. Reflection, refraction, diffuse scattering, polarization, diffraction, emission and absorption spectra, photoelectric effect, all of the essential characteristics of light have been found also to be characteristic of X-rays. At the same time it has been found that some of these phenomena undergo a gradual change as we proceed to the extreme frequencies of X-rays, and as a result of these interesting changes in the laws of optics we have gained new information regarding the nature of light. Roentgen, the discoverer of X-rays, was able to find neither refraction nor reflection of X-rays, and many of those who followed him were equally unsuccessful. Just after the war, however, various researches led to the discoveries that total reflection could be obtained as X-rays go from air into glass, similar to the total reflection of light at the surface of a prism. This discovery opened the way to new and more precise measurements of the refraction of X-rays and made possible studies of the spectrums of these rays, using refraction gratings similar to those used with light. These experiments on the refraction and reflection of X-rays have afforded us what is perhaps our best quantitative tests of the classical theory of optical refraction, and it has given us our most accurate method of counting the number of electrons in atoms.

This growth of the study of X-rays into a branch of optics was described by Professor Compton in his address before the Nobel Institute at the time that he was awarded the Nobel Prize. Detailing the correspondence in the action of light and X-rays, Professor Compton said: "Perhaps the property of light which is most closely connected with its wave characteristics is that of diffraction or interference. The first successful attempts to observe the diffraction of X-rays were perhaps those of Walter and Pohl, whose experiments, when interpreted by Koch and Sommerfeld, showed rather definite bending of the X-rays as they passed through narrow slits.

It was this work which suggested to Laue his remarkable experiment of using crystals as diffraction gratings for X-rays. The manner in which these experiments of Laue's led to precise measurements of X-ray wave lengths and to a knowledge of crystal structure more precise than we have dreamed possible, is well known. There is, however, another diffraction phenomenon which during the last few years has become important. It is that of the diffraction of X-rays by gratings ruled on polished surfaces. These experiments have afforded us our most direct method of measuring X-ray wave lengths and have during the last year enabled us to study the complete spectrum from visible light through the ultra-violet and soft X-ray regions into the region of X-rays. It would take a bold man indeed to suggest, in view of this recent work, that there is any essential difference in quality between the X-rays and light. A second characteristically wave property of light is its polarization. Though Roentgen's early attempts to polarize X-rays, by means of prisms, as light is polarized, were without success, Barkla some twenty years ago succeeded in polarizing X-rays by scattering them at right angles much as sunlight is polarized when scattered as blue light from the sky. More recent experiments have shown that under suitable conditions this polarization of the X-rays is complete at 90 degrees, with the primary beam in exact accord with the predictions of the electromagnetic wave theory of radiation."

THE PHOTON THEORY

Yet the work which won for Professor Compton the Nobel prize introduced the most interesting controversy of present-day physics; that is, whether radiation consists of waves or minute particles. Continuing to quote Professor Compton: "The phenomena which we have been considering are those in which we find with X-rays results entirely in accord with our expectations if they obey the same laws as ordinary light. Within the last few years, however, phenomena connected with the scattering of X-rays have become prominent in which gradually increasing departures from the optical laws appear as we go to the very high frequencies of X-rays. I refer to the change of wave-length of the X-rays when they are scattered. The experiments showing this change of wave-length are too well known to require description. It is found that a part of the scattered rays is of the same wave-length

as the primary radiation, but that a part which becomes increasingly prominent for the higher frequencies is of increased wavelength. Attempts to account for this phenomenon on the basis of waves have not been successful. Simple explanation is, however, found in the assumption that the X-rays consist of rapidly moving particles which we may call photons which are deflected by electrons. On this view when a photon bounces from an electron the electrons recoils leaving the photon with less energy than before. This reduction in energy corresponds to an increase in wave-length which is found to be in exact accord with experimental measurements. When this theory was first proposed no electrons recoiling from scattered X-rays were known, but they were discovered by Wilson and Bothe within a few months after their prediction. Now we know that the number, energy and spatial distribution of these recoil electrons are in accord with the predictions of the photon theory. The final test of the theory consisted in following a photon after its collision with one electron until it collided with a second. Photographs showing the paths of the electrons recoiling from such a photon made it possible to follow its path and to show that energy and momentum were conserved when it collided with the first electron. Unless there is some fault with this experiment it would seem to show definitely that the X-rays consist of minute particles.

"Thus we see that as a study of the scattering of radiation is extended into the very high frequencies of X-rays, the manner of scattering changes. For the lower frequencies the phenomena could be accounted for in terms of waves. For these higher frequencies we can find no interpretation of the scattering except in terms of the deflection of corpuscles or photons of radiation. Yet it is certain that the two types of radiation, light and X-rays, are essentially the same kind of thing. We are thus confronted with the dilemma of having before us convincing evidence that radiation consists of waves, and at the same time that it consists of corpuscles. It is these changes in the laws of optics when extended to the realm of X-rays which have been in large measure responsible for the recent revision of our ideas regarding the nature of the atom and of radiation."

THE TREATMENT OF PARALYSIS

For bringing hope to those who heretofore have suffered, with little chance of recovery, for pioneering a new technique of

medicine, that of fighting disease with disease, Professor Julius Wagner-Jauregg of Vienna received the 1927 Nobel prize in medicine. He conceived and developed the treatment of syphilitic paralysis, or paresis, by inoculation with malaria. Forty years of devotion to a theory, literally a lifetime of work, stand back of the achievement. It was as long ago as 1887 that Professor Wagner-Jauregg published his first paper explaining his fundamental idea that febrile disease had an ameliorating effect on paralysis. Even then the idea was not new, for observers in the days of Hippocrates and Galen had noted that intermittent fevers produced favorable effects on the paralytic insane. But the Viennese psychiatrist took the clinical observations of his predecessors and contemporaries, added his own and built up a theory that he believed in. For years he struggled to collect data to prove his theory. He tried to induce curative effects on hopeless paralytics by inoculations with typhoid, tuberculin, erysipelas and intermittent fevers.

Different workers with mental disease observed that in the tropics where malaria was frequent and syphilis extraordinarily common among the native population, paresis, the deadly form of paralysis that often occurs in the last stages of syphilis, was unknown. This state of affairs was specially well demonstrated in both Java and in China. Furthermore, malaria presented the special advantages for clinical use of being recurrent; it could come back at the spirochaetes in the body enfeebled by the first malarial attack and subject them to uncomfortably high temperatures again and again. It could be administered in a relatively mild form and cured with quinine. Accordingly, in 1917, Professor Wagner-Jauregg made his first trial of malaria with nine paralytic patients. The results were encouraging. He continued the treatment. Other institutions followed, for it must be remembered that up to this time there was no real alternative for paralysis but death. Today the application of the method is practically world-wide in the more advanced institutions where the paralytic insane are housed.

Further developments of the malarial treatment in which Professor Wagner-Jauregg is particularly interested are the preventive use of malaria in syphilitic patients before they develop paresis and a project for the finding of some method whereby malarial blood can be shipped from laboratory to laboratory. This feature is of special importance on account of

the hit-and-miss chances of institutions finding a suitable malaria case just when they need it for inoculation of their paralytics. With all the health propaganda against the mosquito, good useful malaria cases of the right type are getting hard to find in the more enlightened countries.

THE INDIANS' ANCESTORS

The possibility that the red men who are the only 100 per cent. Americans upon this continent may trace their ancestry back to the noblest line of the Old Stone Age in Europe, was presented to the anthropologists recently by Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the United States National Museum. Dr. Hrdlicka recently re-examined practically all the known remains of paleolithic man and found certain striking similarities both in bodily structure and in cultural customs between the Indians and the latest of the races of the Cro-Magnon type. One of the Old Stone Age races, the Upper Aurignacians, may have been rather closely affiliated with the far-away European or Siberian ancestors of the oblong-headed aboriginal Americans. There are many features in common to the two. The vault of the skull is often extremely similar in size and shape. Low orbits and other facial characteristics of the Aurignacians are also occasionally met with in the Indians. There are certain Aurignacian-like similarities in the aboriginal American stone and bone culture. The habit of burying quantities of red ocher with their dead, which resulted in the staining of the bones, among the Upper Aurignacians, was also common among the American Indians. Dr. Hrdlicka said: "There are many indications that from the Middle Aurignacian times man began to steadily increase and extend over the earth; and that he remained much the same in physique through the succeeding terminal parts of the Paleolithic period and up to the Neolithic times when, according to the best evidence we now possess, he began gradually to extend over into America."

PAPER MULCH FOR CROPS

Crop increases of 500 and 600 per cent. following the use of a "magic carpet" of heavy waterproof paper covering all the ground not actually occupied by the stems of the plants themselves, have been obtained by Dr. L. H. Flint of the United States Department of Agriculture. The system is known as paper mulching, and

was first practiced on tropical pineapple plantations. It worked there, and the experiments were then made to see whether it might not be beneficial for various garden crops in a temperate climate. Dr. Flint carried on his researches for three years before he was ready to report on them. He tried the paper mulch on a great variety of garden crops, and all but one of them responded with heavily increased yield. The increases during the 1927 season varied from 11 per cent. with garden peas to 516 per cent. with spinach. The crop of lettuce was more than doubled, that of green corn was trebled, and that of potatoes almost quadrupled. The paper mulch results in an increase in soil temperature, a reduction in the loss of soil moisture, and a modified distribution of water. All three of these factors are favorable to plant growth under usual Summer climatic conditions. A further effect of the blanket of paper over all unoccupied soil spaces is to smother all weed growth.

ELECTRIC WINDMILL

A new airplane type windmill that promises to compete with gasoline farm-lighting plants has appeared as a by-product of America's intensive developments of aviation. Utilizing the new knowledge of aerodynamics that has been gained through the rapid development of airplane research, E. N. Fales of Dayton, Ohio, with the collaboration of H. R. Stuart, has developed a light, efficient, cheap high-speed electric windmill that is radically different from the familiar sort. The initial cost is only 25 cents per watt output for an outfit consisting of a 32-volt 1,000-watt generator, windmill geared direct to generator, gas pipe cable-guyed tower, battery and switchboard. The propeller of the new windmill has one to four blades like an airplane propeller and it runs from six to ten times as fast as the old-fashioned multibladed type of equal diameter. The new windmill was designed after extensive tests in wind tunnels upon models and through the use of experimental data on airplane propellers and the aircraft windmills used to furnish current for radio sets. Because of the use of a high-speed wheel it is possible to utilize winds of high velocity, which are lost with the ordinary windmill, which turns out of the wind when the velocities are high. Computations show that nearly three-quarters of the total energy comes from winds that blow only about half the time.

Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,
BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

THE most complicated thing in America is the Government of the United States; and the most difficult thing to discover in that Government is just who it is who governs. Among professors and experts in political affairs has recently appeared a scientific method of predicting the future in politics by using algebraic formulae. This method would be infallible except that besides X (Congress) and Y (the President) and Z (the press), there is another element; namely, &c., in the person of the thinking public. All the beautiful calculation is thus thrown into the fourth dimension.

The writer who attempts to sum up in a few paragraphs the works and ways of the Federal Republic of the United States is oppressed by the multitude of insoluble questions that absolutely must be solved before Congress adjourns. Fifteen years ago, at this time of the year, the Democracy was waiting impatiently for the advent of the first Democratic President since Cleveland, and for eight years there was plenty of news from Washington. In our later Republican age, President and Congress are on speaking terms, but do not cross the street to shake hands with each other. If the President thinks it necessary to send marines to Nicaragua, or Congress is determined to "demellonize" the bill for reducing taxation, there is nothing to do but to cool down. President Coolidge is indubitably the head of his political party, and at the same time the political head of the nation; but it is not in his temperament to control Congress, as did Jackson and Roosevelt and Wilson.

On the other hand, though some oratorical luminaries seem unaware of it, the President of the United States has an authority in relations with foreign nations not granted by Congress and not subject to Congressional review, except for a division of the treaty power with the Senate, and of appropriation power with Congress.

The great event in our intramural politics during the next ten months is, of course, the Presidential election, and the only established fact with regard to that election seems to be that Calvin Coolidge, by two separate and carefully considered announcements, has removed himself from the con-

test. His service to the country is undeniable; his popularity undiminished. One may guess that the weight of responsibility upon a conscientious man grows heavier as the years pass. The Republican Party cannot afford to take the ground that there is only one man in the party who can carry the election. Everybody knows that there are at least three outstanding men, all of character and public service, competent for the great office. Whatever the divergencies among Democrats, it is equally clear that so far only one man has come forward with a backing which indicates the confidence of a considerable portion of his party.

A multitude of minor issues have come up during the last month. The largest in point of news value, to judge by the interest of the daily press, is the aerial march of Colonel Lindbergh from capital to capital of the Central American countries. There must be much good in a nation that takes Lindbergh for its hero, for he is the right kind of a fellow. Foreign in extraction, completely American in life and motives, fearless of danger because he takes precautions against disaster, the friend of Presidents and Prime Ministers, and equally of the millions, he seems to have done more in a few days to make the Latin-American Governments understand and appreciate the best that there is in the United States than twenty-five years of diplomacy.

Upon Lindbergh's brilliant aerial tour of the tropics is cast the shadow of a mean and dirty scandal; not the scandal of a Mexican endeavor to bribe four Senators of the United States, but the scandal of a chain of newspapers printing charges which shriveled into dust as soon as the light of truth was let in upon them. Lindbergh has done a good job in taking the bad taste of that transaction out of the mouth of Mexicans and Americans.

The great questions of satisfying the Western tillers of the soil and the Southern farmers overwhelmed by the ravages of the Mississippi, have, for a short time, been postponed. President Coolidge has cast a coolness into the latter issue by insisting that the United States cannot undertake to insure the farmers of the Mississippi Valley for the safety of their lands, unless they participate in the necessary expenditure.

The accidental sinking of a submarine off Cape Cod raises the question whether two American naval ships may not reasonably be expected to avoid hitting each other as an example to merchant shipping. Accidents at sea have always happened and will always happen; the only question for inquiry is whether all reasonable precautions were taken by those responsible.

If called upon to choose the two national questions which in the last month have been the most significant, the mind naturally turns to the spectacular relations of this country with other nations of the Americas, and particularly of Central America. For the first time in our history the President of the United States will shortly betake himself to Latin America to meet with representatives from presumably all our twenty Latin-American neighbors and join in a discussion of common problems. What about the Monroe Doctrine? Will there be a Coolidge doctrine? A Woodrow Wilson doctrine was proclaimed in 1914, from Mobile, to the effect that the United States never interfered with the internal affairs of her neighbors, and never had designs upon their territory, yet Woodrow Wilson lived to order two military expeditions to enter Mexico and to kill Mexicans who resisted.

The most serious difficulty in the way of participation of the United States in the League of Nations is that it is not possible for this country to share in the difficulties and adjustments of Europe and the keeping of peace among the nations over there, unless we are willing that European nations should share with us in preserving peace and aiding good government among the Latin-American States. The whole country is interested in the stand which the President will take with regard to our recent occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo, our virtual control of the Republics of Panama and Nicaragua. Since President Hayes declared in a public message that

"any inter-oceanic canal across America is a part of the coast line of the United States" no President and no Congress have ever taken action which could be construed as an acknowledgment that any European Power can ever have an interest in America which could threaten our control of the present Panama Canal or a future Nicaragua canal. Nor can the United States ever enter into any Pan-American union in which 80,000,000 Latin Americans (though grouped in twenty sovereign States) can outvote 110,000,000 United States Americans on any question.

The other mighty issue is entirely national; it is the continuance and increase of armed banditry in the cities and the open country of the United States. In some parts of the land we are living under conditions not unlike those of Sicily with its Camorra. In some cities, large and small, there is an organized, almost military body of bootleggers, safe crackers and automobile bandits. We are rapidly approaching a system of seizing wealthy or important persons and holding them for a ransom, such as we read of in *The Count of Monte Cristo*.

Some important men and firms protect themselves by a system of iron bars and hired armed retainers. Bandits of another and a meaner type, concealed by masks which are permitted under the public laws, drag people out of their beds to torture and murder them. Fast and powerful automobiles go far to make this barbarism possible in a civilized country. The remedy is relentless public action in three directions: the finger-printing and registry of every man, woman and child in the country; more effective registry and restriction of motor vehicles of every kind; and the placing of the trade in lethal weapons on the same basis as the trade in poisons, no person being allowed to sell or buy such a weapon except under the most stringent restriction and enforced responsibility.



The Franco-American Treaty Negotiations

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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ALTHOUGH at the time this article was written the text of the proposed treaties with France had not been published, enough of their contents is known to make it clear that they have far-reaching implications, and large importance for the future peace of the world. That the negotiations present grave difficulties is evident. The whole civilized world except the United States, Russia, Mexico and a few minor nations, have joined in a League, and, by accepting the Covenant, have assumed certain very definite obligations tantamount in character to those of a treaty, obligations which they cannot modify or escape, except by the action of the League or by withdrawal from it. The United States, on the other hand, has certain established policies and constitutional limitations which make the acceptance of international obligations exceedingly difficult. There is the Monroe Doctrine, so developed from its original as hardly to be recognizable, but none the less powerful for all that. There is the United States Senate, a bogey-man fearful to the Department of State, and without whose "advice and consent" treaties cannot be made. There is the Constitution, which lodges in the Congress the sole power of declaring war.

Notwithstanding these facts, there is a situation which must be met and a solution which must be found. On Feb. 27, the arbitration treaty with France, negotiated by Mr. Root and signed on Feb. 8, 1908, will expire by limitation. A substitute must be found. Our Government has always been a leader in its advocacy of arbitration, and the nation neither desires nor is willing to change this policy. During the last few years, and particularly in the case of the nations which have signed the Locarno treaties and subscribed to the optional clause of the World Court statute, Europe has taken steps in advance of our position. Of this we are by no means unmindful.

When M. Briand, on April 6, 1927, the anniversary of our entry into the World War, proposed a compact which would outlaw war as between France and the United States, he was no doubt moved by a desire to continue and to make permanent the

ancient friendship between the two peoples, sealed again by service against a common enemy. There could hardly have been absent from his mind, however, the advantage that would accrue, should France engage in a war in which conceivably American sympathies would be on the other side. Naturally, our Department of State was alive to this danger, and from the beginning of the negotiation has made it quite clear that a treaty of this character with France alone would not be considered. It would be equivalent to the conclusion of an alliance, defensive certainly, and in certain circumstances offensive in character. Such a situation would be intolerable. Our friendship with Great Britain has been, and is bound to be, fully as close. Before 1914 our relations with Germany were quite as satisfactory as those with France, and it is very likely that this situation will be restored. We want no "entangling alliances" of this sort. Public opinion everywhere has supported the Department in its position that the treaty, when signed, shall be a model for others to be negotiated with the nations whose arbitration compacts with us are soon to expire, and that it shall be a part of a general system for the common renunciation of war as a means for the settlement of international disputes.

Conversations regarding the treaty have been going on for some time. A formal proposal for the drafting of the treaty was made by the French Government in June, 1927; but, so far as is known, the discussion of its terms made little progress until early in December, when Ambassador Claudel forwarded to the Quai d'Orsay the counter suggestions of the American Government. It was at once evident that these proposals raised questions involving previous commitments of France both to the League and to those European nations with which she is, in fact if not in name, in alliance. Although all her treaties with these nations have provisions which bring them into consonance with the Covenant, they do legitimize war against nations which have been pronounced by the Council to be aggressors. Obviously, therefore, France cannot accept any instrument that makes it illegal, under any and



Camera Man: "Get closer together, boys, if you want a good picture."

—London (Eng.) Evening Standard

all circumstances, to go to war. If we assume a case in which the Council should declare the United States to be the aggressor, France would be under obligation to join in a war against us. If we were a member of the League, this difficulty would not arise, as we would be a part of a common system. The maintenance of the prestige and power of the League is a cornerstone of France's foreign policy, and she is willing to do nothing that will weaken it. In common with other nations, she is anxiously inquiring what would be the attitude of the United States in the event that the sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant are invoked against an aggressor other than the United States. Would we refuse to take part in an economic blockade and insist on our right to trade with the aggressor nation? In such a case the blockade could not be enforced, and we would become in effect an ally of the aggressor. We might, in such a case, capture a large amount of trade, and our merchants and manufacturers might profit by a large number of dollars, but our resulting moral degradation would be considerable and unpleasant.

From our own point of view, the situation is equally dangerous. We have remained outside the League because we do not wish to become involved in European national quarrels; but, should a war be begun and

the sanctions of Article 16 be applied, we would be faced by the dilemma either of accepting a decision of the Council which we had no part in making; or, refusing to accept it and insisting as a neutral on our right of trade, or becoming automatically aligned and allied with the aggressor in a war against the League. The situation is not a pleasant one, but it must be faced. Doubtless our Department of State is fully alive to this fact; and it is not impossible that it is moving toward such a revision of the Covenant or such a readjustment of its relation to the League as will remove this danger. The difficulties in the way are, it is needless to say, immense; but the danger to be avoided is so great that we, as well as the members of the League, are likely to give careful examination to any plan which promises a way of escape.

All parties concerned are moving slowly and with great caution. Our Department of State seems to have accepted the contention of the Senate that it is a part of the treaty-making power of the Government; for, on Dec. 21, Secretary Kellogg discussed the proposed treaties with the Foreign Relations Committee. Although the details of the discussion were not made public, he no doubt received assurances of support. It is understood that there was a lengthy discussion of a proposal for incorporating a statement regarding the renunciation of war

in a preamble to the arbitration treaty, where it would have moral but no legal force. On the day following, Senator Borah issued a statement proposing that treaties, similar to the one suggested by France, should be negotiated multilaterally with all the leading nations; or, in other words, that all these nations should join in a common renunciation of war. Although this suggestion did not at first meet with the approval of the French Foreign Office, it was soon accepted.

On Dec. 28, Secretary Kellogg sent to M. Briand a note in the course of which he said:

The Government of the United States welcomes every opportunity for joining with the other Governments of the world in condemning war and pledging anew its faith in arbitration. It is firmly of the opinion that every international endorsement of arbitration, and every treaty repudiating the idea of a resort to arms for the settlement of justiciable disputes, materially advances the cause of world peace. My views on this subject find a concrete expression in the form of the arbitration treaty which I have proposed in my note to you of Dec. 28, 1927, to take the place of the arbitration convention of 1908.

The proposed treaty extends the scope of that convention and records the unmistakable determination of the two Governments to prevent any breach in the friendly relations which have subsisted between them for so long a period.

In view of the traditional friendship between France and the United States—a friendship which, happily, is not dependent

upon the existence of any formal engagement—and in view of the common desire of the two nations never to resort to arms in the settlement of such controversies as may possibly arise between them, which is recorded in the draft arbitration treaty just referred to, it has occurred to me that the two Governments, instead of contenting themselves with a bilateral declaration of the nature suggested by M. Briand, might make a more signal contribution to world peace by joining in an effort to obtain the adherence of all of the principal Powers of the world to a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.

Such a declaration, if executed by the principal world Powers, could not but be an impressive example to all the other nations of the world, and might conceivably lead such nations to subscribe in their turn to the same instrument, thus perfecting among the Powers of the world, an arrangement heretofore suggested only as between France and the United States.

The Government of the United States is prepared, therefore, to concert with the Government of France with a view to the conclusion of a treaty among the principal Powers of the world, open to signature by all nations, condemning war and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy in favor of the pacific settlement of international disputes.

If the Government of France is willing to join with the Government of the United States in this endeavor, and to enter with the United States and the other principal Powers of the world into an appropriate multilateral treaty, I should be happy to engage at once in conversations looking to the preparation of a draft treaty following the lines suggested by M. Briand for submission by France and the United States jointly to the other nations of the world.



Do stuffed animals make good gifts for nervous children?

—London (Eng.) Evening Standard



Surely not too much to ask
—New York Herald Tribune

Two draft treaties accompanied the note, one dealing with arbitration, the other with the renunciation of war. The arbitration treaty is understood to have exempted from arbitration questions involving the Monroe Doctrine and those of purely domestic content. In that it does not exclude from its operation those questions involving "the honor of the two contracting parties," it comes closer to the Locarno model; but it lacks the all-inclusive phrase contained in the Bryan Conciliation Treaty of Sept. 15, 1914, which covers "all disputes * * * of whatever nature they may be," and, in similar terms, in the Locarno treaties. Without this phrase, there is always danger of misunderstanding as to what, actually, the treaty covers. The all-inclusive phrase is, however, contained in the paraphrase of the treaty embodying the Briand declaration issued at the same time: "That the two Powers should solemnly declare in the name of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war, renounce it as an instrument of their national policy toward each other, and agree that a settlement of disputes arising between them, of whatsoever nature or origin they may be, shall never be sought by either party except through pacific means."

The French, because of their League obligations, are dissatisfied with this state-

ment and desire to insert the word "aggressive" as limiting the type of war which they condemn and renounce. Thus far our Government has found it impossible to accept this modification because of the difficulty of determining, in a particular case, which nation is the aggressor. An excellent example of this difficulty was furnished by the quarrel between Poland and Lithuania, which was, for the moment at least, composed by the Council at its December meeting. The League has, of course, a means of reaching a legal determination, but we are not willing to accept the findings of a body in which we have no voice.

The relation of the new treaties to the Bryan Treaty is not entirely clear. The latter remains in force until a year has elapsed following its denunciation by either party. It is understood that this uncertainty is clarified by a phrase in the new arbitration treaty.

On Jan. 5, 1928, Ambassador Claudel delivered to Secretary Kellogg a note stating the French position regarding the treaty for the renunciation of war. After the customary review of the contents of the note of Dec. 28, he says:

I am authorized to inform you that the Government of the Republic is disposed to join with the Government of the United States in proposing for agreement by all



ANOTHER SIAMESE TWINS PROBLEM
—New York Herald Tribune

nations a treaty to be signed at the present time by France and the United States and under the terms of which the high contracting parties shall renounce all war of aggression and shall declare that for the settlement of differences of whatever nature which may arise between them, they will employ all pacific means. The high contracting parties will engage to bring this treaty to the attention of all States and invite them to adhere.

It will be noted that the words "of aggression" are here included. How the situa-

tion created by this limitation is to be met is not yet clear. The pessimistic note sounded by the Washington correspondents does not necessarily represent the final judgment of the Department of State. The importance of the issue involved in these two words can hardly be exaggerated. On them may depend not only the success of the proposed system of multilateral treaties but, perhaps more important still, our future relation to the League.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

THE month of December, which opened for the League of Nations with the surprise of Soviet Russia's proposal for complete disarmament and the threat of alarmist press reports from several parts of Europe, notably between Poland and Lithuania, closed in an atmosphere of normal Christmas calm induced by the orderly advancement of the Disarmament Committee's work and an unusually successful session of the Council.

Disarmament—The Preparatory Disarmament Commission, which had met in November, predominantly to constitute a Commission of Security and Arbitration to study the political elements underlying disarmament, had been confronted at its opening session by a sweeping proposal from the Soviet representative, Mr. Litvinov, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who was present for the first time and who urged complete and total disarmament. Mr. Litvinov said that, failing complete disarmament within a year's time, he was prepared to propose disarmament by stages during four years; and, failing that, to participate in any really useful discussion. The committee decided that, while all the previous work had demonstrated that disarmament depended upon security, the Russians could present their proposals at the second reading of the draft convention on March 15. With this decision reached, the Security and Arbitration Commission, which promises to be one of the most important created by the League, was then duly constituted, the broad lines of its agenda drawn up and the first meeting fixed for Feb. 20, 1928. All the twenty-six States represented on the Preparatory Commission will be represented on the new

committee, with the exception of the United States, which, while expressing the importance it attaches to this question, stated it would be glad to follow the report as later submitted to the Preparatory Commission itself.

The Council of the League—In the midst of alarmist press reports, largely centring on the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, and heightened somewhat, perhaps, by Russia's first appearance at a large political meeting at Geneva in connection with disarmament, the League Council came together for its forty-eighth session from Dec. 5 to 12, under the Presidency of the Chinese representative and with twenty States in attendance. The session was one of the most crowded and dramatic of recent meetings, and marked considerable progress both toward mitigating certain points of difficulty and in advancing certain phases of international cooperation. Incidentally, the Council again postponed until the Assembly the question as to whether it should change its present system of four short meetings a year in favor of three longer meetings. Undoubtedly one of the most acute questions which has yet arisen was the dispute between Poland and Lithuania, which now appears to be approaching a settlement. The dispute concerning the admission of children to German minority schools in Polish Upper Silesia was referred to the Permanent Court for an advisory opinion as to the interpretation of the Treaty provisions. The possibility of another appeal to the Permanent Court was provided for in the case of the battleship *Salamis*, ordered before the war by Greece, but now refused on the ground that the Treaty of Versailles forbids its delivery by

the German shipyards. Finally, in view of recent developments, the Council again urged direct negotiations between Poland and the Free City of Dantzig regarding the access of Polish warships to that harbor.

European Financial Reconstruction—Another nation was added to those which have applied to the League for financial assistance and advice when Portugal proposed a plan of reconstruction enabling it to raise a foreign loan for the stabilization of its currency and invited the Financial Committee, on which Jeremiah Smith Jr. of Boston was sitting for the first time, to begin an examination of the situation. At the same time, final decisions were taken for the execution of the Greek reconstruction scheme approved last September but delayed by difficulties between Greece and France regarding war debts. Accordingly, Greece can now complete negotiations for a loan of £6,500,000, which, with a separate loan raised in the United States, is to be devoted partly to financial reconstruction and partly to the completion of the Refugee Settlement Scheme. In the case of Bulgaria important progress was also made, though certain questions, notably the bank of issue, will be submitted to further study by the Financial Committee in anticipation of the next Council meeting.

Execution of the Economic Conference's Recommendations—One of the most important resolutions of the World Economic Conference last Spring was carried into effect by the Council when it came to a final agreement on the constitution of the Consultative Economic Committee, which is to meet periodically to survey the general world economic situation. The committee is modeled on the former Preparatory Committee, which so well laid the ground for the Economic Conference and includes authorities on industry, trade, agriculture, finance, production and labor, with a total of fifty-five members, of whom forty-seven are appointed by the Council, five by the Economic Committee, two by the International Chamber of Commerce, one by the Financial Committee and the President of the International Institute of Agriculture. The Rapporteur was asked to name the Australian, American and Russian members, and M. Theunis of Belgium, who presided at the Economic Conference, was named President and given authority, with the Secretary General, to fix the date of the first meeting.

Import and Export Prohibitions—The recent Import and Export Prohibitions Conference was described to the Council by its



Litvinov: "When I say 'Abandon all weapons!'—of course that does not include harmless little penknives."

—London (Eng.) *Evening News*

President as re-establishing free circulation of a great number of important articles and as engaging many States not to hinder the free flow of trade by new prohibitions or to use prohibitions as a means of pressure in international commercial negotiations. The Council decided to communicate the convention to Soviet Russia, Mexico and Ecuador, the only States not represented at the Conference, to study means for preventing hygienic measures concerning animals and plants from constituting an arbitrary interference with trade and to provide for simultaneous abolition of export prohibitions with regard to hides and bones.

Counterfeiting Coinage—With a draft convention on counterfeiting currency before it and information received from thirty-one banks of issue that during the last three years \$3,000,000 in false notes and \$35,000,000 in false money have been seized, the Council decided to refer the draft to all States for their observation and to convene a general conference for the final adoption of a convention within a year. It also took steps to hasten the creation of the national offices suggested in the draft and to unify regulations on extradition and letters of request.

Press Questions—Several of the more important resolutions passed by the Press Conference last August concerning protection of press information, professional facilities for journalists and peace-time censorship were referred by the Council either to the Governments or the competent press

organizations. Similarly the special case, originally raised by The Associated Press, of the supply of news from Geneva to the non-European world, which is often greatly congested over the narrow channel from Switzerland across France and into England, was referred to the particular and earnest consideration of the three Governments involved.

Health—One of the fruits of the recent technical Health Commission to South America was seen in arrangements approved by the Council for placing under the League the hygiene schools to be set up in the Argentine and Brazil. From the other side of the world an initiative by Australia led to approval of an inquiry into health conditions in Papua, New Guinea, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Solomon and Fiji Islands. So, also, for Africa the Council approved steps looking to a second Sleeping Sickness Conference to study the final report of the Commission of Inquiry. Finally, at Cuba's request, the Council asked the Health Committee to consider extending its collaboration to the Spanish-speaking countries of North America.

Social Questions—In order to give effect to the proposals of the Opium Committee, the Council again stressed the importance of ratifying the Geneva Convention, urged the desirability of information as to what is done with confiscated drugs, asked all States to consider to what extent they could strengthen the supervision of drug manufacture and trade and invited China to re-

port important seizures in that country. As regards traffic in women and children, the second part of the experts' report was issued for publication, thus concluding one of the most far-reaching international investigations ever undertaken. Finally, the Mandates Commission was asked to continue its study of the causes of the increase in liquor imports into certain mandated territories, and the Preparatory Committee of the International Relief Union was asked to meet shortly to facilitate the working of the union and the coming into force of the convention.

The United States—The United States was affected, as always, by much of this work. The Government official participated in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, though not accepting membership in the Security and Arbitration Committee. Similarly, while not represented in the Council, Government interests were involved in many questions such as the Economic Conference, the Import and Export Conference, the Counterfeiting of Currency, and the Health, Opium and White Slave Traffic Committees, in which American governmental representatives had previously cooperated. American private interests were equally involved in connection with the Greek and Bulgarian loans, which will be placed partly in the United States and in the shaping of which Jeremiah Smith Jr. of Boston cooperated, and in the decisions regarding the Press Conference which had been attended by a dozen of the most influential American journalists.

THE UNITED STATES

Congress Considers Reduction of National Taxation

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

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CONGRESS adjourned on Dec. 21 to reconvene on Jan. 4 after the usual holiday recess. The organization of the Senate, which had been held up for ten days by the consideration of the election cases of William S. Vare of Pennsylvania and Frank L. Smith of Illinois, and by the demand of certain insurgent Republican members for assurances regarding the treatment of farm relief legislation and

other matters, was finally completed on Dec. 15 with the choice of Senator Moses of New Hampshire as President *pro tempore*, and of other officers nominated by the Republicans. The committee assignments, however, while such as to leave the Republicans in nominal control of the Senate, carried with them such important concessions to the insurgents as either to give the latter a balance of power in a number of the lead-



FOUR OUT OF FIVE HAVE IT
—Anniston (Ala.) Star

ing committees or else to enable them, in union with the Democrats, to block legislation if they chose to do so.

The Democratic charge that the special favors shown to the insurgents were the result of a "trade" with the regular Republicans was vigorously denied by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, who declared on Dec. 13 that "during our discussions with Senator Curtis [the Republican floor leader] we neither directly nor indirectly mentioned the matter of committee assignments. We do not want to feather our own nests by receiving better assignments. What we want is to present a legislative program and have it voted on."

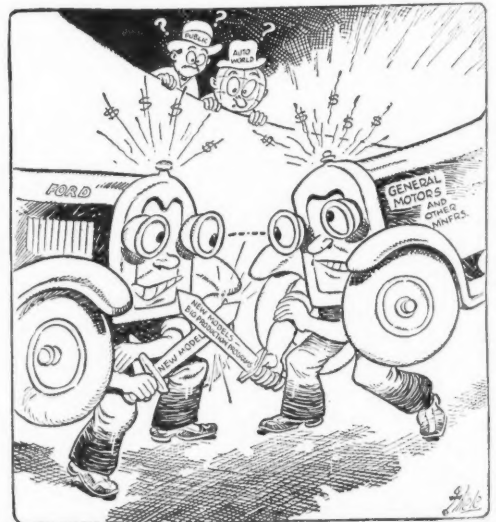
The traditional influence of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, the only important committee that was left under regular Republican control, was considerably lessened by the action of the Senate in voting, on Dec. 12, to continue the Reed investigating committee, to which the cases of Senators-elect Vare and Smith had been referred, until a final report was made. Mr. Smith, who was requested to appear before the Reed committee on Dec. 16, asked that the consideration of his case be deferred until after the holidays. A formal denial of fraud in connection with the Pennsylvania election of November, 1926, was filed by Mr. Vare on Dec. 23.

The first of the annual appropriation bills, a deficiency bill appropriating \$203,000,000 for various Federal purposes, was passed by the House of Representatives on

Dec. 9 and by the Senate on the 12th, and on the 22d was signed by President Coolidge. A bill introduced by Senator Walsh of Montana, Democrat, reducing from six to three years the period during which the statute of limitations in Government fraud cases should operate, also passed both houses and on Dec. 28 received Presidential approval. The purpose of the bill was to enable M. T. Everhart, son-in-law of Albert B. Fall, to testify in the Teapot Dome oil conspiracy case without incriminating himself, the acts in regard to which he had refused to testify having occurred less than six years ago.

The most important legislative action before the recess, however, was the passage by the House on Dec. 15 of the tax reduction bill. The bill provides for a total revenue cut of \$298,765,000, as against the \$225,000,000 recommended by Secretary Mellon and approved by President Coolidge, and \$232,735,000 recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means. The principal change from the bill as reported by the committee was the repeal of the automobile sales tax. The passage of the bill, which was achieved by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats, required five roll-calls, on each of which the committee proposals were defeated, while a final effort to recommit the measure was lost by a vote of 301 to 93.

A suggestion that the Senate should delay consideration of the bill until after March 15, at which time the Treasury receipts for 1928 and the appropriations by Congress



An eye for an eye—and a toot for a toot
—NEA Service

could be estimated with approximate accuracy, was indorsed by Secretary Mellon on Dec. 29 in a letter to Senator Smoot of Utah, Republican, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Mr. Mellon reaffirmed his belief that a reduction of \$225,000,000 was the only safe limit and gave warning that not only would a deficit have to be faced if that limit were exceeded, but that the funds needed for flood relief would be jeopardized. On Dec. 30, however, President Coolidge, who agreed with Secretary Mellon that the reduction proposed by the House was excessive, let it be known that the suggestion of delay did not come from the Administration, but that he favored the immediate passage of the bill provided the reduction did not exceed \$225,000,000. Statements attributed to Senator Smoot on Jan. 1 indicated that Senate action would almost certainly be delayed, but that some kind of a tax reduction bill would probably be passed by that body before the end of the session.

An Alien Property bill, providing for the settlement of claims of the United States and Germany and their nationals arising out of the World War, and already adjudicated by the Mixed Claims Commission, was passed by the House on Dec. 20. Of alien property to the amount of more than \$264,000,000 still held by the United States, \$247,785,924 will, under the bill, be returned to Germany or its citizens. The large majority, 223 to 26, in favor of the measure, showed the strength of the feeling in the House that further retention of the property in question would amount to confiscation and would jeopardize the rights of private property, as far as the attitude of this country was concerned, in any future war. The bill now goes to the Senate.



DANIEL IN THE LION'S DEN
NEA Service

Resolutions introduced in the Senate for investigations of the so-called "power trust," the War Finance Corporation, and the foreign service of the Department of State were referred to committees, as was a bill offered by Senator Brookhart of Iowa, Republican, to put all World War veterans and their dependents upon the same basis regarding eligibility for pensions as veterans of the Spanish-American war. A large number of recess appointments, made since the adjournment of the preceding Congress, were confirmed by the Senate, among them those of Dwight W. Morrow of New York as Ambassador to Mexico, and Henry L. Stimson of New York as Governor General of the Philippine Islands.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS

DISCUSSION of the Presidential outlook for 1928, although carried on with increased activity during the month, has failed to elicit further announcements from the candidates, or supposed candidates, whose names have already been prominently mentioned. Former Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois reiterated on Dec. 11 his support of the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill, and declared that he stood "squarely with the President" in what Mr. Coolidge said in his recent annual message regarding prohibition, but he still declined to admit that he was a Republican candidate. Charles D. Hilles, Chairman of the Republican National

Committee, aroused much interest by asserting, at a Republican dinner at Syracuse, N. Y., on Dec. 16, that until Mr. Coolidge "declared that he would not accept if nominated and not serve if elected, a great many of his legion of admirers will continue to hope for his renomination." Secretary Mellon, who was reported from Pittsburgh as a favorite son, promptly took himself out of the race on Dec. 29.

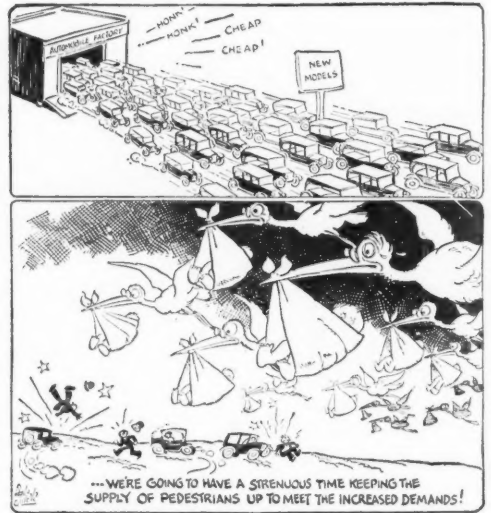
A question about the eligibility of Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, whose name has been mentioned in Republican circles with increasing frequency, was raised shortly after the middle of December,

on the ground that he had not been for fourteen years a resident of the United States as the Constitution requires. The basis of the objection was found in the protracted absence of Mr. Hoover in Europe during the World War. The opinions of a number of authorities on constitutional law, including those of George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General of the United States, who examined the question when Mr. Hoover was a Presidential candidate in 1920, and Senator Borah, who expressed himself on Dec. 31 in answer to an inquiry, were cited in support of Mr. Hoover's eligibility.

The action of the Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama in rejecting, on Dec. 16, a proposal to send an instructed delegation to the Democratic National Convention, was hailed as a rebuke to the Ku Klux Klan, whose opposition to the candidacy of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York has begun to take form in Alabama and other States. On the other hand, leaders representing thirty-one "dry" organizations were quoted on Dec. 17 as promising the early opening of a campaign to prevent Governor Smith's nomination.

GOVERNOR SMITH'S MESSAGE

The "eighth and last" annual message of Governor Alfred Smith, presented to the New York Legislature on Jan. 4, was a monumental document and combined a detailed statement of matters to which the attention of the present Legislature was

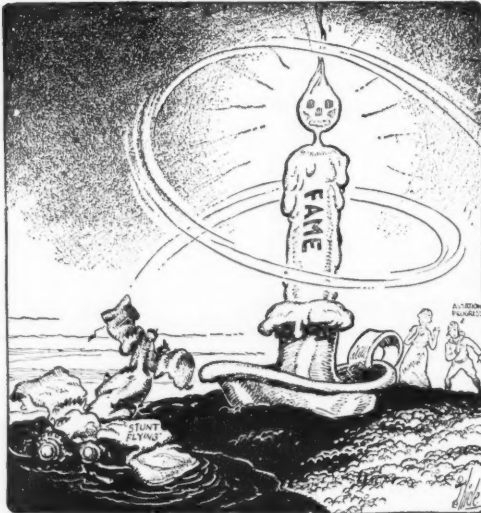


If this intensive production of autos gets any worse—

—Kendallville (Ind.) News-Sun

invited, such as State control of water power, establishment of a Minimum Wage Board, re-establishment of direct primary for nomination of candidates, educational reforms and a striking proposal for the psychiatric examination of criminals before imposing sentence, with a comprehensive review and defense of the policies which Governor Smith has advocated during his long period of service.

It had apparently been expected that Governor Smith would include in his message some clear indication of his attitude toward national issues, but, with the exception of prohibition, national affairs were not discussed. On the question of prohibition Governor Smith criticized sharply the "after-war hysteria" which added the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and the action of the Legislature of 1919 in forcing its ratification. While strongly upholding the right of those who oppose prohibition to denounce it and work for a modification of the system, he nevertheless declared that "there devolves upon the State the sacred duty of sustaining" the Amendment and the Volstead Act, and reiterated his intention to remove from office, upon presentation of proper proof, "any public official charged with laxity in enforcement of the law." The statement was regarded as a political concession to the divided sentiment in the Democratic Party on the prohibition issue.



WHAT PRICE GLORY?

—Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star

THE AMERICAN NAVY

IN the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy, submitted to Congress on Dec. 10, Secretary Wilbur urged the need of "a building program to meet our legitimate requirements for national defense and to maintain the 5-5-3 ratio in cruisers and aircraft carriers," in view of the failure of the Geneva conference on the limitation of naval armament. Two days later it was announced that President Coolidge had approved a program calling for the construction of four battleships under the replacement provisions of the Washington treaty of 1922, twenty-six cruisers of the 10,000-ton class, three airplane carriers, five fleet submarines, and eighteen destroyer leaders. The total cost of the proposed construction, the largest since 1916, was estimated at more than \$1,000,000,000. The plan, it was stated, was part of a comprehensive building program extending over twenty years, the vessels enumerated to be built within the next five years.

The announcement brought immediate protests from members of Congress who were opposed in general to naval expansion, and even advocates of a "big navy" were represented as feeling that the appropriation called for in the first five years was excessive. When, accordingly, on Dec. 14, a bill "to provide for increase of the naval establishment" was offered in the House by Thomas S. Butler of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, it was found that the four battleships, to cost about \$148,000,000, had been dropped and that other items aggregating more than \$80,000,000 had been eliminated. The effect of the changes was to reduce the total appropriation required to a minimum of \$750,000,000.

Two days later President Coolidge allowed it to be known that not only had he approved the Butler bill, with its proposed construction of seventy-one vessels of various kinds, but that he did not regard the measure as in conflict with his financial policy or with the policy of avoiding competitive naval building. He was still, it was said, in favor of peace and hopeful that an international agreement for the general limitation of armaments would be concluded. No action was taken on the bill before the recess, but the opinion was freely expressed that the proposed program would be still further modified in deference both to public opinion and to the state of the Treasury.

Late in the afternoon of Dec. 17 the sub-

marine S-4 was rammed and sunk off Provincetown, Mass., by the Coast Guard destroyer Paulding, the destroyer itself being badly damaged. Investigation by divers revealed the fact that six members of the crew of the submarine were still alive in the forward compartment, but the efforts of the navy to prolong their lives or raise the submarine failed, and on Dec. 27 the forty officers and men of the sunken vessel were officially listed as dead.

The failure to rescue the imprisoned men, although apparently due in part to gales and heavy seas, evoked a portentous volume of criticism of naval officers and the Navy Department for alleged negligence and inefficiency. Secretary Wilbur, in company with Admiral Charles F. Hughes, Chief of Naval Operations, visited the scene of the disaster on Dec. 24 and ordered the continuance of efforts to raise the submarine. A Naval Court of Inquiry, to meet at Boston on Jan. 4, was appointed on Dec. 21, and an investigation by the House Committee on Naval Affairs after the recess was urged. Further to meet the storm of criticism to which the Navy Department had been subjected, Secretary Wilbur announced on Dec. 30 his intention to appoint a board of experts, consisting of both naval officers and civilians, "to inquire into all material problems involved in rescue apparatus, the prevention of accidents, and kindred subjects relating to under-water craft."



IN FOR A BLOW
Anniston (Ala.) Star

OF GENERAL INTEREST

THE customary year-end reviews of business and industrial conditions in the United States agreed in rating 1927 below 1926. The trade recession which set in early in the year became more marked during the last quarter. A sharp falling off in automobile production, due in part to the disposition of manufacturers and purchasers to await the appearance of the new Ford model, was an important factor in depressing the steel industry; the oil and coal-mining industries made no progress in the direction of better organization, and railway revenues declined. Disastrous floods in northern New England, together with the closing of a considerable number of mills, had a discouraging effect in that region. The American export trade, on the other hand, showed a marked increase in volume and some increase in value, holiday trade picked up at the end of December, bank credit and capital for investment were abundant throughout the year, and prices of corn, cattle and cotton rose. Secretary Mellon, who issued an optimistic survey of the situation on Dec. 30, expressed his belief that a normal recovery of major industries might "reasonably be expected" in the new year, and President Coolidge was reported as being equally hopeful.

Rear Admiral Thomas P. Magruder, who was relieved of his command of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia and placed on waiting orders because of his published charges of waste in the navy, repeated his charges before the House Committee on Naval Affairs at hearings which began on Dec. 15. Representative Britten of Illinois, Republican, acting-Chairman of the committee, declared on Dec. 20 that "instead of presenting the committee with concrete, well-digested suggestions for economies in the navy, Admiral Magruder was completely unprepared and talked generally at random."

The Central Vermont Railroad, the oldest transportation system in Vermont, was forced into a receivership on Dec. 12 as a result of extensive damages to its property in the November flood. The cost of the flood to the State as a whole, estimated at

some \$30,000,000, is expected to be met in part by a State bond issue of \$8,500,000 for road repairs. A New England Flood Credit Corporation, with a capital of \$1,000,000, has been formed under the lead of the New England Council.

Another effort to settle the strike in the bituminous coal fields failed when a conference called by Secretary of Labor Davis adjourned on Dec. 15 without reaching any definite conclusion.

A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, on Dec. 12, in which it was held that liquors seized by New York State troopers without a search warrant, in aid of the enforcement of Federal prohibition by the State authorities, were illegally obtained and should not have been admitted as evidence, was regarded as a blow at national prohibition in Maryland, New Mexico, Montana and Nevada, as well as in New York, none of the five States having enforcement laws of their own.

An attempt by the Legislature of Oklahoma to impeach Governor Henry S. Johnston was defeated by the vigorous action of the Governor, who on Dec. 12 called out State troops to bar members of the House from the Capitol building, and later obtained injunctions against the Legislature on the ground of illegality in its proceedings. After more than two weeks of interregnum, in the course of which the Senate and House held informal meetings elsewhere and troops continued to hold the Capitol, the charges were dropped on Dec. 29.

Senator A. A. Jones of New Mexico, Democrat, died at Washington on Dec. 20 in his sixty-sixth year. The appointment of Bronson Cutting, an independent Republican, to fill the unexpired portion of the term, was announced by Governor R. C. Dillon on Dec. 29. The Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey, who was deposed from the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in December, 1906, on charges of heresy, and who for some years was looked upon as a leader of the Protestant modernists, died at Rochester, N. Y., on Dec. 31, at the age of 80.



Success of Lindbergh's Good-Will Mission To Mexico

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

SINCE the arrival in Mexico in October of Dwight W. Morrow as United States Ambassador, that country has been treated to a new brand of diplomacy which has been responsible for bringing about more cordial understandings and relations between the peoples and Governments of the United States and Mexico than have existed at any time since the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz nearly seventeen years ago. The mainsprings of this new diplomacy are respect for Mexican sovereignty and personal contacts designed to show an interest in and a friendship for the Mexican people and their Government.

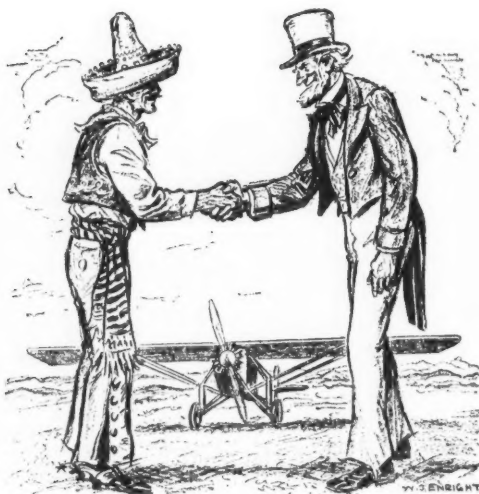
Ambassador Morrow lost no time after his arrival in initiating this new diplomacy. Upon presenting his credentials on Oct. 29 he even went so far as to refer to Mexico and the United States as "two sovereign nations." A few days later he was the guest of President Calles at an impromptu "ham and egg" breakfast at the latter's dairy farm—one of his pet hobbies—near Mexico City. Still later, at a banquet tendered him by the American colony, Ambassador Morrow tactfully served notice on Americans in Mexico that they were there as guests of the Mexican Government and advised them to conduct themselves accordingly and to accept its laws.

Early in December Ambassador Morrow drafted as his unofficial assistant the American humorist, Will Rogers, whereupon they set out as the guests of President Calles on a week's tour through Northern Mexico. In the course of the tour President Calles on Dec. 6 said to newspaper correspondents: "I consider Ambassador Morrow my personal friend. * * * I am happy that he is the Ambassador to Mexico and that improvement in the relations between the two countries is being effected. * * * The object of this trip was to give the Ambassador an opportunity to know Mexico intimately, see and understand the people, and observe the actual works of the Government in developing its projects for the interests of the country and the people." The spectacle of the American Ambassador

showing interest in projects for the improvement of Mexico was characterized in that country as "novel." The same day that President Calles gave out the above interview, President Coolidge in his annual message to Congress gave formal endorsement to the new diplomacy being applied in Mexico in the following words: "A firm adherence to our rights and a scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of Mexico, both in accordance with the laws of nations, coupled with patience and forbearance, it is hoped, will resolve all our differences without interfering with the friendly relationship between the two Governments."

The capital event in the development of Ambassador Morrow's new diplomacy was the non-stop flight of the aviator-idol of America, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, from Washington to Mexico City. Colonel Lindbergh flew to Mexico as the guest of the Mexican Government and in response to an invitation extended by President Calles. He went, however, in the capacity of a private citizen and with merely the consent of the Department of State. The latter fact in itself illustrates a complete face-about in the official attitude of the Department of State toward Mexico, since it was only last August that Secretary of State Kellogg refused to permit the Chamber of Commerce of Houston, Texas, to sponsor a good-will flight from that city to the Mexican capital.

President Calles's invitation for Colonel Lindbergh to fly to Mexico was extended on Dec. 7 and the following day it was accepted. Colonel Lindbergh took off from Bolling Field, Washington, at 12:26 P. M. Washington time, on Dec. 13; he landed at Valbuena Field near Mexico City at 2:39 P. M., Mexico City time, the following day, thus making the non-stop flight in a little over twenty-seven hours. News that Colonel Lindbergh was to make the flight excited the greatest interest among the Mexican people and Government officials. *The New York Times* correspondent in Mexico City reported on Dec. 10 that "with Ambassador Morrow and Will Rogers in Mexico and



HOLD IT!
—New York World

Colonel Lindbergh arriving from the United States, it is felt here that never have the Stars and Stripes and the Mexican Eagle been in closer harmony." The same day The Associated Press reported that "from President Calles to the poorest peon, Mexico is thrilled by the flight of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh as by nothing else in the country's recent history."

The popular demonstration in honor of Colonel Lindbergh upon reaching Mexico rivaled similar demonstrations in his honor at Paris, Brussels and London, following his flight across the Atlantic. He was officially welcomed upon landing by Ambassador Morrow, by President Calles, who gave him an enthusiastic Mexican embrace, and by high military and administrative officers of the Mexican Government. During a fortnight's stay in Mexico City Colonel Lindbergh, although a guest of the Mexican Government, made the United States Embassy his headquarters. His time, except during the Christmas period, was largely taken up in making a round of official visits and in attending entertainments given in his honor by Mexican officials, the American Embassy and civic and commercial organizations. Colonel Lindbergh's official visits began on Dec. 15, when, accompanied by Ambassador Morrow, he called first upon Acting Foreign Minister Estrada and second upon President Calles at the National Palace. Later the same day Colonel Lindbergh attended the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial Library at the Juarez School, arranged by the Department of Public In-

struction. Upon visiting the Mexican Chamber of Deputies he was received in "solemn session," an honor never before accorded to a foreigner and rarely even to the most important Government officials. The Deputies formally declared Colonel Lindbergh to be "an ambassador of goodwill to the Mexican people." Before he left the hall cheers were heard for President Coolidge, Ambassador Morrow and Colonel Lindbergh, that probably being the first time that cheers were ever given in the Mexican Congress for a President of the United States. On Dec. 17 President Calles called on Colonel Lindbergh at the American Embassy and personally escorted him and Ambassador Morrow to a fête at the National Stadium. The visit of a Mexican President to the American Embassy has been commented upon as an almost unprecedented event in recent years. Nevertheless, President Calles has definitely established this precedent; he attended a dinner there given in honor of Will Rogers on Dec. 13 in addition to calling on Colonel Lindbergh four days later.

Notwithstanding the many official and social functions given in his honor Colonel Lindbergh found some time to devote to his chief interest, aviation. On Dec. 20 he carried President Calles and ex-President Obregon on their first rides in an airplane. Colonel Lindbergh was joined in Mexico City on Dec. 22 by his mother, Mrs. Evangeline Lindbergh, who made the trip from Detroit with a party in a Ford plane, flying



Roses where only cactus grew before
—Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune

by short stages. Mrs. Lindbergh was the guest in Mexico of Ambassador and Mrs. Morrow, but she was accorded a semi-official reception that was eclipsed only by the reception accorded her son.

While the visit of Colonel Lindbergh was an unofficial one, its significance as a factor in establishing good relations between the United States and Mexico was commented upon by high officials of the Governments of both countries. President Calles on Dec. 14 said that "the United States in sending to Mexico the highest representative of its manhood, will-power and heroism has created closer spiritual and material relations." The same day President Coolidge declared that "the true spirit" of Colonel Lindbergh's mission "will be sympathetically understood in the United States and Mexico"; Secretary of State Kellogg telegraphed Colonel Lindbergh that his flight "will advance the cause of amity between these nations" and that he had performed "a great public service"; the House of Representatives of the United States telegraphed the hope that Colonel Lindbergh would have a happy sojourn "in the land of our esteemed and friendly neighbor." The good results of the Lindbergh flight were even reflected in the bond market, gains from fractions to as much as 1 7/8 points being registered in Mexican bonds on the New York Stock Exchange on Dec. 15.

Ambassador Morrow's new diplomacy and the visit of Colonel Lindbergh to Mexico did not meet with unanimous approval in the United States. In a letter addressed to President Coolidge on Dec. 27 the National Council of Catholic Women, through their President, Mary G. Hawks, said that

"the intimate relations established by our Ambassador with President Calles and the visit of the idol of the American people, Colonel Lindbergh, are widely interpreted as condoning, if not approving, the method by which the Calles Government seeks to destroy the liberty of religion, liberty of the press and liberty of education." Asserting that they were "bewildered by the most unusual evidence of good-will manifested by our Government toward the Calles régime in Mexico," the Catholic Women cited in their letter a number of alleged "instances of brutality" against Catholics in Mexico and protested against the action of the United States Government in "constantly adding to the political strength of Calles in Mexico," which, it was alleged, gives "evidence of definite interference of our Government in the internal affairs of Mexico."

The day that Colonel Lindbergh accepted the invitation of President Calles to fly to Mexico as an unofficial ambassador of good-will, Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, without any reference to Colonel Lindbergh's proposed flight, gave out a statement concerning Mexico, in which he said:

I am not a politician. I am not interfering in that respect. I am now speaking as an American citizen proud of his country and who must deplore this riotous, blasphemous communism at the very doors of our country, without, it would seem, a single protest from any one in high position whose voice would carry across the Rio Grande and influence some one against this wolfish hunting down of perfectly innocent Mexicans whose only crime is their determination to serve God. What is the real reason of all this silence? Of course we have our reasons for thinking there are influences not entirely imbued with the highest motives.

SENATE INVESTIGATION OF HEARST "REVELATIONS"

THE special committee of five United States Senators, headed by Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, and charged with the investigation of the alleged documents, published in the Hearst newspapers in the latter part of 1927, which purport to show, among other things, that the Mexican Government authorized the payment of \$1,215,000 to four United States Senators, held its first open hearing on Dec. 15. At that time it was revealed through the originals of the alleged documents submitted to the committee by William Randolph Hearst that the four Senators for whom the money was purported to have been ap-

propriated were Senators Borah, Norris, La Follette and Heflin. Three of these Senators at once appeared before the committee and entered denials that they had ever received any money from the Mexican Government, and further, that they had ever been approached by any one concerning the matter. Similar denials were made by Senator Norris in a statement from his sickbed.

A number of witnesses testified before the committee at the open hearings, among them being Mr. Hearst and various members of the staff of the Hearst publications; Dudley Field Malone, who was named in the alleged documents as the proposed in-

termediary between the Mexican Government and the United States Senators; Mexican Consul General Elias, who was alleged to have been authorized to disburse the "slush" fund; John Page, the author of the articles in the Hearst papers that were based upon the alleged documents; and Miguel Avila, who claims to have witnessed the extraction of the original documents from the departmental files in Mexico City and from those in the Mexican Consulate General in New York.

The testimony given before the committee is too voluminous for detailed analysis. It is clear from the testimony, however, that the avowed confidence of Mr. Hearst and members of his publishing staff in the authenticity of the alleged documents which they published rests solely upon the unsupported statements of Miguel Avila that they were genuine; it is also clear that no serious effort was made by any one connected with the Hearst publications to prove the authenticity of the documents before they were published. Furthermore, considerable evidence was laid before the committee that tends to discredit the alleged authenticity of the documents. For example, officials of the cable and telegraph companies operating between the United States and Mexico testified on Dec. 17 that their files showed no record of any money having been transferred to Consul General Elias by his Government, as the alleged documents assert was the case. Three days later Robert H. Murray, a former newspaper man in Mex-

ico City, offered testimony that was designed to show that Miguel Avila was a well-known professional peddler in Mexico City of spurious documents. Testimony to the same effect was offered to the committee on Dec. 27 by F. Y. McLaughlin, an American engineer, whose business is principally in Mexico City. Counsel for Mr. Hearst reported to the Senate committee on Jan. 4 that handwriting experts employed by Mr. Hearst had pronounced the documents as "spurious," and had declared that there were numerous inconsistencies in the mechanical preparation of the alleged documents that practically stamped them as being not genuine.

A scathing attack upon Mr. Hearst for having published the documents without having attempted to ascertain whether they were authentic was contained in a letter from Senator Norris that was read in the Senate on Dec. 19. This attack was the inspiration for four members of the investigating committee who were present that day to take the floor, and to report that no evidence had been found that any United States Senator had received a cent from the Mexican Government or had even been approached in connection with the alleged Mexican "slush" fund. The same day Mr. Hearst published an open letter by way of answer to Senator Norris. In it he asserted that "these Mexican documents are apparently quite authentic, and * * * no proof whatever has been produced of their lack of authenticity."

OTHER EVENTS IN MEXICO

A BILL, submitted by President Calles, which amends Articles 14 and 15 of the Mexican petroleum law, was passed by the Mexican Congress late in December. The amendments do away with the objectionable fifty-year "confirmatory concessions" offered in exchange for valid titles acquired by oil companies before May 1, 1917. On the other hand, they confirm contracts, made before May 1, 1917, with surface owners for subsoil rights for an indefinite time—namely, for the term of the contracts.

The censorship of cables and telegrams from Mexico, which was in effect first from April 21 to Sept. 12, in connection with the expulsion of the Catholic prelates, and was again restored on Oct. 2, in connection with the Gomez-Serrano rebellion, was officially lifted on Dec. 9.

A shipment of 210 rifles and 36,000 rounds of ammunition which was seized by

United States Customs officers at Laredo, Texas, last April, when relations between the Governments of the United States and Mexico were very strained, was permitted to go forward to the Mexican Customs guard at Nuevo Laredo on Dec. 7. It was officially announced in Washington on Dec. 27 that the Department of State was giving "consideration" to the question of the purchase of arms and munitions in this country by the Calles Government. The same day the Department of State gave permission for the Mexican Government to purchase the plane in which Mrs. Evangeline Lindbergh's party flew from Detroit to Mexico City.

Arthur Bliss Lane, former First Secretary of the United States Embassy in Mexico, became chief of the Mexican Division of the Department of State on Dec. 12. He succeeded Franklin Mott Gunther, who resigned the post because of ill-health.

The Mexican Senate late in December passed a bill which invites all Latin-American countries to amend their constitutions so as to grant citizens of other Spanish-speaking countries rights equal to those enjoyed by their nationals. Senator Alvarez,

the author of the bill, declared that it was intended to strengthen friendships among the Latin-American nations and to pave the way for further efforts toward bringing about the establishment of a Spanish-speaking union.

EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

COLONEL CHARLES A. LINDBERGH'S good-will tour was extended from Mexico into the Central American countries, where he was as enthusiastically received as had been the case in Mexico City. Guatemala City was reached in a seven-hour non-stop flight from Mexico City on Dec. 28. There he was formally greeted by President Chacon on Dec. 29 as "a messenger of good-will and the highest representative of American manhood." From Guatemala City Colonel Lindbergh flew to Belise, British Honduras, and from there on Jan. 1 he made a non-stop flight to San Salvador, capital of the Republic of El Salvador. Two days later he flew to Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras. From there he flew to Managua, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and finally Panama, reaching the latter on Jan. 9.

NICARAGUA—Sanguinary hostilities, with fatalities on both sides, continued into the new year in the war that has been waged for some months between United States marines and native constabulary on the one hand and, on the other, Liberals under General Sandino, who refuse to accept the Stimson disarmament plan imposed upon Nicaragua by the United States last Summer. Colonel Mason Gulick, Commander of marines in Nicaragua, stated on Dec. 12 that in the preceding few days, in four skirmishes, fifteen Nicaraguans had been killed by marines and Nicaraguan national guardsmen. In a battle on Dec. 18, which followed an attack on marines and guardsmen by a rebel band of 200, one marine, John H. Calloway, was killed. Ten days later, in a clash between rebels and a patrol of marines and native constabulary, one Nicaraguan was killed and four were made prisoners. In a bloody encounter between marines and dissident Liberals near Quilali on Dec. 30 five marines were killed and twenty-three were wounded; two days later, in an offensive movement initiated by the marines, one was killed and five wounded. From the standpoint of casualties these two engagements were the most expensive for the marines since they landed in Nicaragua over a year ago. The casualties

among the Liberals could not be ascertained. Orders were issued in Washington on Jan. 3 for the immediate dispatch of 1,000 additional marines to Nicaragua. At that time a total of 1400 enlisted men and 80 officers comprised the force of United States marines in Nicaragua. This number has been maintained since last August when the force was reduced.

HONDURAS—A treaty between the United States and Honduras, which provides for unconditional, in place of conditional, most-favored-nation treatment was signed at Tegucigalpa on Dec. 7.

EL SALVADOR—For participation in an abortive rebellion against the Government, two military officers were court-martialed and shot at San Salvador on Dec. 7. After suppressing the rebellious movement, the Government temporarily proclaimed a state of siege. Several others who were implicated were reported to have been court-martialed and executed on Dec. 9.



Here's hoping Uncle hits the apple
—Sioux City (Ia.) Tribune

Suppression of Opposition in Chile

By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

GENERAL CARLOS IBANEZ of Chile continues his vigorous policy of suppressing all possible opposition to his policies in an effort to bring about the regeneration of the republic. The dismissal of José Santos Salas, the able Minister of Hygiene and Social Security and the leader of the Labor Party, is the most conspicuous of his recent arbitrary acts. In a letter to him demanding his resignation President Ibáñez declared that he was responsible for the failure of certain parts of the educational program; that he harbored ideas inimical to the welfare of the State, and that he failed to understand the President's manner of thinking. A little later Señor Salas received an order from the Minister of War to go to Europe on a mission of minor importance to the Government. This dismissal is of unusual significance, for it indicates, on the one hand, that President Ibáñez is determined to break with the Labor faction, and, on the other, that he has the power to bring this about without much immediate danger to himself. It will be recalled that Señor Salas was the candidate of the Labor Party for the Presidency of Chile in 1926 against Señor Figueroa-Larrain; that President Figueroa-Larrain appointed Colonel Carlos Ibáñez Minister of Interior, a position carrying with it the Vice Presidency of the republic; that Colonel Ibáñez became President upon the resignation of President Figueroa-Larrain in April of last year; that President Ibáñez appointed Señor Salas Minister of Hygiene and Social Security, and that this appointment was made for the purpose of conciliating the Labor faction. It also will be recalled that President Ibáñez allowed himself to be proclaimed the legitimate successor of President José Manuel Balmaceda by accepting at the hands of his son, Enrique Balmaceda Toro, at a public gathering and amid great pomp and ceremony, on July 21, 1927, the day before his inauguration, the sash worn by the martyred President—Balmaceda senior committed suicide after having been defeated in the civil war—and preserved in the family until a worthy successor should have been chosen. Señor Balmaceda Toro was subsequently appointed Minister of the Interior.

The question may well be asked, in view of the dismissal of Señor Salas: How long will Señor Balmaceda Toro remain in the good graces of his chief?

President Ibáñez's methods of dealing with undesirables have caused much criticism in liberal circles in South America and have particularly aroused the ire of the learned editor of *El Día* of Montevideo, who, in a recent editorial, denounces them with no uncertain emphasis. He begins by stating that the banishment of so many political leaders* has caused a great sensation in all America, and denounces the offensive nature of the banishment and deportations, pointing out that the victims have been forcibly separated from their families, their interests and their preferences, and have been neither informed of the charges against them nor given a trial before legally constituted juridical tribunals. A curt order to leave the republic within a given time or an equally curt order to be present at a given time and place for deportation seems all that is required. The islands of Juan Fernández, famed in literature as the setting for Defoe's immortal *Robinson Crusoe*, situated far out in the broad Pacific, arid and almost uninhabitable, have become the Devil's Island of Chile, to which a large number of political deportees have been sent. It is evident, declares the editor, that there can be no talk of democracy in a land where fundamental liberties are thus flouted. He admits that the old parliamentary system, established under the Constitution of 1833, had become intolerable and that a change in the fundamental law was imperative; the remedy, however, does not lie in the triumph of the Presidential principle as incorporated in the new Constitution, but in the establishment of a true balance between the different coordinating branches of the National Government.

The reply of President Ibáñez to all criti-

*Among the exiles are Alessandri, father and son; Barros Jarpo, Santiago Labarca, Rafael Luis Gumucio, Manuel Rivas Vicuña, Elogio Rojas Mery, Ramon y Luis Gutierrez, Enrique Matta Conteras, Labarca, Luis Alberto Cariola, Manuel Hidalgo and Luis Salas Romo.

cism, in so far as he makes replies, is that the serious condition of Chile demands drastic measures. In an interview with a correspondent from the United States he recently explained the situation in the republic and the program which he intends to follow. There are, he pointed out, really only two problems upon the proper solution of which depends the regeneration of Chile. One is the balancing of the national budget, the other the formation of a "*new national mentality, comprising honesty, sobriety and austerity in customs, expenditures and social life.*" The solution of the first he hopes to accomplish by more economical conduct of public affairs, by prosecuting administrative scandals and by punishing corrupt functionaries. The solution of the second will come about, he explained, through a proper system of education. "Educational reforms," he declared, "inspired by practical and patriotic sentiments should give us citizens well prepared, with aspirations and the mentality and capacity to work for the building of the nation."

It may be said in conclusion that while there is much adverse criticism of the policy pursued by President Ibáñez the policy has not been without its good results. There has been relatively very marked material progress in the past several months; industry and commerce have increased, unemployment has decreased and finances have been improved. A new nationalism is being developed—or rather revived—that bids fair, so we are informed, to bring about a real rejuvenation of the people and of the

land, and there is a freshness and a youthful buoyancy about this newly awakened spirit that portends great good for the Chilean people. For all of which the Chilean people should be justly grateful. The student of history must be allowed, however, to remind them of the fact that the present crisis cannot be so easily weathered. The main trouble with Chile is just this effort of a single dominant class to solve the problems of the nation single-handed, striving, while so doing, to perpetuate its grip upon the affairs of State and prevent this power from falling into the hands of any other class or classes in the republic. There is, therefore, nothing fundamentally new about the present situation in Chile, and the immutable laws of history are there at work as they are in other parts of the world and among other peoples. A class rule with a program that benefits one class only, as is the case in Chile and as has been the case since the nation was established, can never hope to escape perennial outbursts of the suppressed classes, outbursts in which these classes seek to secure self-expression—and efforts to suppress such classes permanently are inevitably doomed to failure. It is not only too much to expect that the Chilean people will do what greater people have failed to do, but to commend them for efforts such as the present régime is making would be to give them a false hope, indeed. Autocracy is bound in the end to defeat the very purpose for which the State has been called into existence.

OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTH AMERICA

ARGENTINA.—President Alvear recommended to the Senate of Argentina, through Dr. Antonio Sagarna, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the elevation of the legations in London, Paris, Mexico City, Montevideo and Lima to the rank of embassies. Dr. Sagarna, in his speech in the Senate, declared that such action would be in keeping with the policy of reciprocal relations which Argentina is seeking to establish among nations. The relations between Great Britain and Argentina, he pointed out, are most cordial, intimate, significant and of transcendent importance to Argentina, and it was therefore highly proper that the diplomatic agent at the Court of St. James's should be raised to the rank of Ambassador. The relations between France and Argentina are of an even more intimate character, as France rendered very great aid to Argentina during the period of

emancipation and Argentina numbers among her citizens many people of French descent. The relations between Argentina and Mexico, a country in which genuine efforts are being made to elevate the native peoples to a higher plane of civilization, also are intimate and profoundly important. Argentina's sense of duty to Mexico in her hour of need should prompt such recognition at this time. As for Uruguay, she is almost a prolongation of Argentina herself; a country of the same type and with the same antecedents, her relations with Argentina demand the close relation which such action would make possible. The elevation of the legation at Lima also would seem necessary.

BOLIVIA.—An article in the *Crítica* of Buenos Aires dealing with the recent Indian uprising in Bolivia has aroused a

storm of protest among the classes attacked. The article is by R. Hinosoja, a Bolivian student in the Argentinian capital. Señor Hinosoja condemns the Government of his country for its failure to deal with the Indian problem as befits its gravity and importance. He declares that the agitation against communism which is being carried on by the Government is merely a blind behind which the exploitation of the unfortunate natives can go on unmolested. He reminds his Government and its supporters of the fact that there are 1,500,000 Indians in Bolivia out of a population of 2,300,000; that there has been and still is a deliberate plan to keep the Indians in the blackest ignorance; that they are denied the liberties usually allowed all free peoples, and that they are purposely kept in this state of degradation in order better to exploit them. The Indians are still forced to render the hated *pongueja*, the personal service demanded by the masters of the Indians, he declares, the supporters of this intolerable condition being the clergy, the Mayors of municipalities, the *padrones* (owners of estates on which the Indians work in practical slavery), the scheming politicians and unscrupulous Government officials. Among the powerful *padrones* he includes the Patiños, the Soux, the Aramayas, Escalier Navajas and Antezanas, and among the politicians assisting them he includes Señores Siles, Díez de Medinas, Villanueva and Saavedra.

It is of interest in this connection that Colonel Gonzalez Flor, the commander of the Bolivian forces sent to pacify the Indians, after a fairly thorough investigation found that the real authors of the uprising were the clergy, the Mayors of municipalities, the *padrones* and the unscrupulous Government officials, and that many of the Indians who participated in the revolt knew little about and cared less for communism, being primarily concerned in protecting their property and in securing redress for grievous wrongs done to them. He did find, however, that the immediate cause of the uprising was the activities of communists among the Indians, and that the whole situation was very gravely aggravated by communist agitators.

COLOMBIA.—According to official governmental reports from Bogota, Colombia has made a very substantial material progress since 1922. The returns from coal, petroleum, gold, platinum, copper, iron and emerald production have been increasing on a very satisfactory scale, and Co-

lombia still leads the world in output of emeralds. Production of bananas, tobacco, cotton, sugar and stock has increased during this period; Colombia is now the second largest coffee producer in the world. Her financial condition is very satisfactory; the gold peso, valued at \$.9733 at par, is quoted at a premium, the only other coin so quoted being the Argentine peso. The national debt of the republic has been reduced from more than \$45,000,000 in 1922 to about \$23,000,000 in 1927—a reduction of more than 50 per cent. The total wealth of the country is estimated at \$6,000,000,000, or about \$6 an individual, and there has been an annual surplus since 1922 ranging from \$15,000,000 to \$7,000,000.

In 1922 the Government of the United States agreed to pay the Colombian Government \$25,000,000 in gold, to be paid in five instalments of \$5,000,000 each. The whole sum had been paid by July, 1927, and is being used in the construction and improvement of public works, notably fifteen railway lines and a canal.

A New York syndicate recently offered for sale bonds of a loan of \$25,000,000 at 6 per cent., the proceeds to be used to improve further the transportation system of the republic.

PERU.—The recent inauguration of the Naval League of Peru has aroused no little interest in South America. The league has for its motto "Our future is on the sea," and hopes to focus national attention on the whole problem of national defense, as well as the navy and its needs. Branches of the league are to be organized in every important city in the republic and a general drive to put through the Administration program of national defense is to be made. President Leguia took part in the ceremonies of inauguration in the Naval Club of Callao and the following paragraphs from his speech on that occasion are illuminating:

I am the friend of peace. But peace does not and cannot imply lack of foresight. * * * Lack of foresight was always one of the obstacles to our national progress in the days of peace, and in the hour of war, when everything was perishing in our midst, it sowed desolation and ruin and mutilated the country. This same lack of foresight immobilized us in the post-war period and displayed us before the world as a nation incapable of mastering its destinies. Such is the appalling picture of the Past.

But the Present is another matter. Peru is rising to heights which not even the most optimistic could have foreseen. The first duty of a Government, as I understand it, is to make every effort not only to consolidate that progress but also to place it on a

level with those who by their intrigues might compromise our splendid future. * * * I formulate the hope that our navy, which has written some of the most glorious pages of our history, may be able to rise equal, should the need arise, to our most glorious traditions.

The sentiments expressed in this speech find further significance in the fact that the Peruvian Constitution has recently been amended to allow re-election of the President of the republic without any restrictions.

VENEZUELA.—The lot of a dictator even in South America is not always an easy one. He may be able to prevent

criticism of his policy in his own country, but he cannot always count upon the same protection in foreign countries. A recent instance of this was the severe rebuke administered to President Gomez of Venezuela by the President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The latter addressed a letter to President Gomez requesting him to grant to the citizens of Venezuela social and economic rights which are usually accorded in all free countries. That there is need of such a request is shown by the fact that no single group at the recent conference gave a more severe arraignment of existing conditions than did the Venezuelan delegation.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Church vs. State in Great Britain

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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EXERCISING decisively the authority which the State possesses over the Established Church in England, the British House of Commons on Dec. 15 rejected the revised prayer book which, after twenty years of consideration, the constituted authorities of the Anglican Church presented for Parliamentary confirmation. The proposed changes had previously been approved by a three to one vote in the House of Lords. The debate in both chambers was carried on with intense emotion and stirred both Parliament and the country as has no other discussion since the days of August, 1914. In plain words, the question at issue was whether the Commons should sanction an alteration in the prayerbook, which, in the opinion of many ecclesiastics and laymen, would involve an acceptance of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the communion service and bring the Church of England into substantial accord with the Church of Rome on this fundamental point of religious belief. This sanction the Commons refused to grant. The proposed revision thus dramatically brought into public attention the growing cleavage between the Protestant and Catholic wings of the Anglican Church and its failure to receive Parliamentary sanction caused widespread discussion of the desirability of the separation of Church and State in England.

The actual connotations of the existence of a State church are difficult for an

American to comprehend, and it has been so long since the State exercised its power to thwart the deliberately expressed will of the Church in England that Englishmen have heretofore scarcely realized that the Church is completely the creature of the Civil Government; yet the organization, doctrine and ritual of the Church of England were sanctioned by statute, so that they can be changed only by act of Parliament. The present prayerbook was adopted by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. The Sovereign must be a member of the Church. Twenty-four Bishops and the two Archbishops sit and vote in the House of Lords. The Archbishops and Bishops are appointed by the Crown upon the nomination of the Prime Minister, as are high civil and military officials, while many of the lesser ecclesiastical officers are named by the Lord Chancellor. Prelates of the Church of England officiate in practically every religious service performed for the British Government.

Although the separation of the Anglican Church from Rome made the former a "protestant" organization, there remained within the Church a body of men who were still closely allied with the Roman Catholics in doctrinal beliefs. The thirty-nine articles of doctrine, confirmed by statute in 1571, were intentionally drafted to include a wide range of opinion. The prayerbook, on the other hand, although allowing a considerable latitude of belief, prescribed the ritual

of the Church with great minuteness and directed that the standard be conformed to with complete rigidity. For the past eighty or ninety years, however, the "ritualistic movement" with its Roman rites and vestments has gained an increasing hold upon the English clergy. The recent debates brought forth from the spokesmen for the Church in the House of Lords admissions that the Bishops during recent years had been quite unable to enforce the ancient law against thousands of clergy who were more nearly Roman than Anglican in doctrine and practice. Parliament therefore in 1904 authorized ecclesiastical authorities to revise their prayerbook and present their revision to Parliament for approval. The understanding was that the new ritual would be one that could and would be enforced.

Concerning the debate on the revision in the House of Lords, *The Spectator* remarked: "In no debate in the House of Lords since the war has there been so much animation, and no other has attracted such large and deeply interested audiences." It was the Archbishop of Canterbury who first presented the Church's case for the revision. The measure, the Primate declared, was the answer of the Church and churchmen to charges of indiscipline, long levied and studiously examined for the past twenty-one years. The new proposals, he said, contained no vestige of a departure from the principles of the Reformation. The reason for change was that the Bishops, accused of allowing indiscipline, found that their rules of discipline were the antiquated formulae of 1662, and a premium was accordingly set upon irregularities by the impossibility of enforcing the obsolete rules. The proposed changes were passed by an overwhelming episcopal, clerical and lay majority in the Church Assembly, and the verdict was confirmed by 80 per cent. of the diocesan conferences. No fundamental principle was involved in the carefully safeguarded power of the Bishops to authorize reservation of the sacrament. Modern rules, however, meant the enforcement of discipline by the Bishops and the encouragement of loyalty. Many clergy who would not conform to the present rules would obey the revised ones. At peace within herself at last, the united Church would be able to fulfill her great trust of working for the betterment of the nation.

The chief grounds upon which the revision was attacked in the Lords were that the measure was "a surrender to Anglo-Catholic schismatics who were seeking to undermine the work of the Reformation and that



John Bull: "I might as well acknowledge it."
—Adams Service

the compromise would not in fact bring either peace or orthodoxy within the Church." The revision, however, carried by a vote of 241 to 88.

When the proposed revision reached the House of Commons there occurred one of those rarest of parliamentary occasions—a debate which actually changed votes and determined the fate of the measure under discussion. The attendance was unusually large and representative, 447 members out of 615 being present and voting. By general opinion the opponents of the measure distinctly outdebated those who supported it, although the Prime Minister, Sir Hugh Cecil, and other brilliant leaders were among the latter group. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary, led the attack. He declared that the only question to consider was not whether the proposed doctrines were right or wrong, but whether they were the doctrines of the Church of England. He concluded that they were not and declared that in the revision the Bishops proposed to surrender to the "Romish practices" which they had tolerated for the past twenty years because they were impotent to deal with them.

Even more plainly spoke Rosslyn Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell said that as a Presbyterian he regretted that any responsibility for the Church of England had been laid upon Parliament, but that, nevertheless, he would not shirk his duty. The dividing line between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches was the doctrine of transubstantiation. The Church of England had hith-

erto kept upon the Protestant side, but if she adopted the deposited book England would be made Rome in a generation.

Applying the reasoning of Sir William Joynson-Hicks and Mr. Mitchell, Sir John Simon told the House that they must remember that there was a vast mass of people outside of the Church of England who acquiesced in establishment only because and so long as that church was a Protestant reformed church.

Despite the appeal of the Prime Minister to the House to support the compromise which the Church had reached and uphold the authority of that organization, the Commons finally rejected the measure by 247 votes to 205. The whips being taken off for the vote, the division cut across all party lines. The Conservatives were almost equally divided for and against the measure; of the Labor members present 35 voted for and 54 against, while almost all the Liberals who were present were against confirmation.

The division within the Church, which the rejection has brought almost to the point of crisis, may perhaps be best shown by two Episcopal statements made apropos of the action of the House of Commons. Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, the outspoken leader of the "Protestant" wing, declared: "The representatives of the English people have saved the doctrine of the English Church. The Commons have shown that they will not surrender the religious heritage which comes to us from the Reformation. I am profoundly thankful. * * * Now the way is open for constructive reform which shall preserve the traditional character of the Church of England."

The Bishop of Plymouth, on the other hand, stated: "I regard the rejection of the new prayerbook as the heaviest blow struck at the Church in my lifetime. * * * No

Church with a particle of self-respect could accept such a verdict as final. There must be no hasty action, but the claims of party organizations to destroy by political action what the Church through its properly constituted machinery has created in twenty years of labor is intolerable."

A layman's view, which expresses a feeling apparently widely held in England, was set forth by Sir John Simon: "It is the State connection which causes the whole difficulty. If only the Church of England will put herself in a position to claim freedom in matters of liturgy and doctrine from Parliamentary control she will find none more ready to support and defend her claim to settle for herself the direction in which she wishes to go, whatever that direction may be, than the Liberals of the House of Commons."

On Dec. 22 the Archbishop of Canterbury announced that the House of Bishops had resolved "to reintroduce the measure in the Church Assembly as soon as possible, with such changes, and such changes only, as may tend to remove misapprehensions and make clearer and more explicit its intentions and limitations." Meantime, the Primate requested the clergy "for the sake of peace and unity in the Church" to discontinue any usages which the new prayerbook forbids and urged churchmen who opposed the measure to "do and say nothing to increase our difficulties."

The ultimate historical significance of this dramatic exercise of the power of the State over the Church probably will not be fully apparent for a long time to come. The episode, however, revealed a widespread and deep-seated public interest in the Established Church and what it stands for in English life, which in itself is of great significance in this transitional period of British institutions.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—Following the ancient ceremonies, Parliament was prorogued by the Royal Commissioners on Dec. 22 to meet on Feb. 7. The King's speech briefly reviewed the political events of the year as viewed by the Government, expressed satisfaction at the steady growth and increasing influence of the League of Nations and pledged a continuation of the British policy of cooperation with it.

The "temporary failure" of the Geneva Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments was regretted, and the statement was made that the British Govern-

ment had "no intention of embarking on an increase in its naval building program, which is based upon a considered view of the defensive needs of my widespread empire."

During the month under review an unusually lively interest in party politics continued to manifest itself. On Dec. 6 Philip Snowden, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the MacDonald Government, resigned from the Independent Labor Party and joined the ranks of the Labor Party. "The old Independent Labor Party, by creating the Labor Party," stated Mr. Snow-

den, "has made a far greater power and a fuller instrument for establishing a Socialist State than it could ever hope to be and might now be well content to merge itself in the larger life." The immediate cause of Mr. Snowden's transfer of membership, however, was generally attributed to differences between himself and the I. L. P. with reference to the surtax, which is under consideration as the chief plank in Labor's fiscal platform.

Economically, the most striking development of the month was the shipment of gold from New York to London for the first time since 1914 and the purchase of £1,500,000 of this metal by the Bank of England. Although bankers did not expect that regular shipments would be resumed, yet the year ended with a satisfactory outlook in finance, commerce and industry.

Thomas Hardy, regarded by many as the greatest English writer of his time, died on Jan. 11 at the age of 87.

A USTRALIA—From Nov. 21 until Dec. 7 coastal and overseas shipping was practically brought to a standstill in the chief Australian seaports by a dispute between the shipowners' organization and the Waterside Workers' Federation. Hundreds of vessels lay silent at their docks or moorings, and more than 35,000 dock workers were idle.

The chief points at issue in the tie-up were the questions of overtime and of whether the longshoremen should work in one or two shifts per day. The shipowners declared that in both matters the workers had systematically disregarded the previous rulings of the Industrial Arbitration Court, and by instituting illegal regulations of their own had created an impossible situation at the wharves. On Dec. 1 the Federal Government prepared to interfere in the dispute by securing the passage of the following motion: "In view of the great loss, unemployment and general distress, which will inevitably result from a continuation of the serious industrial disturbance in the waterside industry, this House affirms its support of the Government in taking any action it thinks necessary in cooperation with the Governments of the States as far as possible to maintain law and order and insure the continuance of services essential to the well-being of the Commonwealth."

The Government, however, did not forcibly intervene, for in the end the strike and lockout were terminated by compromise sanctioned by an interim decree of the court. In essence, the agreement was that the federation must agree to abide by the

rules of the Arbitration Court and the local union regulations conflicting with them should be repealed; that the overtime dispute should be "declared off," and that the practice concerning shifts which prevailed before the cessation of work should be continued while the court investigated the situation further. It was in the latter understanding that the unions carried their point. No matter of principle was settled by the struggle, but almost every business in the Commonwealth suffered by the prolonged loss of shipping facilities.

One important effect of the shipping tie-up was to increase public interest in the Government's bill to amend the Conciliation and Arbitration act, which came to second reading in the House of Representatives on Dec. 15. This measure is designed along the lines of the familiar Trades Disputes bill, passed by the Baldwin Government in Great Britain, and is intended to protect the community at large from the worst effects of struggles between employers and organized labor. The chief provisions of the measure are as follows: The penalty for "doing anything in the nature of a lockout or a strike" is fixed at £1,000 for an industrial organization or an employer and £50 for any other person; it is an offense to declare goods or places "black"; an organization is held liable for the acts of its members unless it has expelled the offending members; the Arbitration Court is authorized to disallow any union rule which it considers contrary to law or to an award of the court or to be tyrannical, oppressive or unreasonable; penalties are laid against any form of intimidation or persecution against any person to prevent his offering or accepting work under an award of the court.

It is obvious from the provisions which have been mentioned that the chief purposes of the bill are to protect the individual union man in the exercise of his rights as a member of his organization and to increase the power of the Arbitration Court to enforce its awards against either employers or organized labor. The measure is, of course, bitterly opposed by the union leaders and the Labor Party in the Federal Legislature.

NEW ZEALAND—Early in December the Samoan Royal Commission, appointed to investigate the Government of Western Samoa, brought in a report which held that all of the material charges against the Administration had been disproved and completely supported the official conduct of the Administrator. The findings of the com-

mission exonerated the Government, which New Zealand established in the former German colony under mandate from the Council of the League of Nations in 1920, from charges of arbitrary and autocratic conduct, repeated violations of the rights of natives and foreign residents and gross administrative inefficiency. The report was received with great interest not only in New Zealand, but throughout the world because of its bearing upon the operation of the mandate system established by the Treaty of Versailles.

The Constitution of Western Samoa was established by the Samoa act, 1921, of New Zealand. The Government consists of an Administrator, appointed by the Governor General of New Zealand; a small Legislative Council of official and non-official members appointed by the Governor General and a High Court from which appeals may be made to the Supreme Court of New Zealand. A native Parliament called the Faipule, composed of native chiefs representing every district in the islands and appointed by the Administrator, meets twice a year to frame local ordinances which affect the native population and to express the wishes of the Samoans as to their government. The area of Western Samoa is about 1,260 square miles and the population approximately 39,000, of whom some 2,000 are Europeans.

The discontent which was the occasion of the present investigation arose soon after 1921, but did not entail serious consequences until 1926. In October of that year, the report of the commission states, a citizens' committee, organized and led by O. F. Nelson and other white residents of the territory, undertook to create a feeling of dissatisfaction among the natives and to frustrate and render ineffective the functioning of the Administration. A league of Samoans, the Mau, was formed for the purpose of obtaining native self-government. Public meetings were held and there was an organized refusal among the members of the Mau to obey the laws and regulations, recognize the authority of officials or to attend the meetings of the Legislative Council. Properly concluding, the commission declared, that the Mau had set out to paralyze the activities of the Government and that seditious propaganda was constantly being distributed among the natives, the Administrator proceeded to exercise his powers of local banishment and compelled the leaders of the organization to disperse to their homes.

Characterizing this action as tyrannical and destructive of the ancient rights of the

native chiefs, the British leaders of the opposition to the Government renewed their obstructive tactics in Samoa and carried to New Zealand a protest in which the Administrator was accused of exercising a dictatorship in the islands. These charges were reported by the Royal Commission to be groundless, and the banishment of local chiefs was upheld.

Newspaper discussions of the investigation and the incidents which gave rise to it indicated that differences between the Administration and certain European traders over the conditions under which copra, the chief product of the islands, was purchased from native producers furnished the real cause of the attacks upon the Government. These conditions were declared not to have been fair and reasonable to the natives. One price was fixed for all grades and there was no real competition among the buyers. The Administration introduced a scheme for the grading of copra which provided an incentive for the preparation of a better product and was designed to protect the ordinary native planter from unscrupulous dealers. This action, it was stated, precipitated the campaign against the Government by a combination of disgruntled Europeans and discontented native leaders. Soon after the commission had presented its report three of the former were banished from Western Samoa.

SOUTH AFRICA—Of significance not only for South Africa, but for the world, was the fact that the 1927 output of gold in the Transvaal exceeded that of any year on record. The total output for the first eleven months was 9,280,000 ounces, while the output for all of 1926, a high record in the history of the Rand, was only 9,962,852 ounces.

INDIA—The forty-second session of the Indian National Congress, an unofficial organization representing every part of India, met in Madras late in December, with some 5,000 delegates in attendance. The Congress adopted a resolution calling for a boycott of the British Statutory Commission recently appointed to investigate the working of the present system of government in India, and declared complete national independence to be the goal of the Indian people. As usual, resolutions were also adopted advocating greater unity between the Hindu and Moslem communities. To further this end the Congress went on record as approving joint instead of communal electorates, with the reservation of seats for communal minorities on a population basis.

The Passing of the 1928 Budget by France

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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THE last days of 1927 saw the final vote of the budget of 1928. It took all the driving power of M. Poincaré to repeat his triumph of last year and get his accounts settled for Christmas. When the Chamber finished voting the appropriations on Dec. 11 the balance of this 42,000,000,000-franc budget was only 52,739,049 francs. When the Senate made out its list of appropriations it announced a balance of 218,000,000. On Dec. 25, however, at a quarter after six in the morning, when the budget finally emerged from a whole night's wrangle during which it was sent back and forth six times between the Chamber and the Senate, and a final agreement had been reached under the threat of the Government's resignation, the balance was much nearer the Chamber's figures than the Senate's, namely 55,158,916 francs.

This financial settlement will be accounted as another of M. Poincaré's triumphs, for which he deserves and receives due credit. To many, therefore, it seems that the time is ripe for the legal stabilization of the franc. If any one can accomplish the feat Poincaré is obviously the man, but no one has yet been able to wrest from him a statement committing him on that point, although he admitted its desirability. When speaking before the Senate on Dec. 22 he declared: "The excess of our exports permits us to believe that we could definitely organize the monetary situation on a sound basis. The favorable balance of payments is the condition for any definite improvement." This optimistic statement was based on the fact that in November France exported \$1,000,000 worth of goods more than she imported, having thus, for eleven months, a favorable trade balance of over 2,500,000,000 francs. Moreover, the demand for stabilization seems to be pretty general. Not only manufacturers and business men, but even bondholders are anxious to know exactly where they stand. The only objection comes from the economists and financiers who believe that, with an internal debt of 330,000,000,000 francs and a circulation of 55,000,000,000, France cannot afford to stabilize at twenty-five to the dollar, and that the only way in which she will be able to carry the internal debt is by fixing the

value of the franc at a lower figure. The example of Belgium, which stabilized at about thirty-five to the dollar, gives weight to this argument, and it is borne out by the experience of Northern France, which is suffering from a slight trade depression due to the competition of Belgium, where business is done on a much lower scale.

The stabilization by Italy of the lira has not failed to impress the French public, and many Frenchmen would hate, for sentimental reasons, to stabilize the franc at less than one-fifth of its pre-war value. Even at that it will compare unfavorably with the lira, although it must be remembered that while Italy's circulation, reckoned in francs, is only 17,500,000,000, that of France is 55,000,000,000, and the French internal debt is more than two and a half times that of Italy.

Whatever happens and whether stabilization comes only after the election as predicted, or, as in Italy, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, there is no doubt that, economically and financially, conditions are much improved, and France has regained the confidence which was so sadly shattered in 1926.

There must also be an end to the belief so widely circulated abroad after the war, that France is not paying her way as she should. Senator Chéron, who is the perennial reporter of the Senatorial Finance Committee, likes to remind the public that the French pay in taxes a total of 53,000,000,000 francs; for, to the 42,000,000,000 of the regular budget must be added 6,000,000,000 for the sinking fund, and 5,000,000,000 for what may be termed State, county and municipal taxes. In his report he calls attention also to the fact that, last year, in spite of all efforts made, France's internal debt increased by 7,354,000,000 francs, due partially to payments to the victims of the devastated regions. Against that figure, however, must be set off a reduction of 6,375,000,000 francs in the external commercial debt.

The service of this debt absorbs 41.50 per cent. of what the Frenchman pays in taxes to his country. Senator Chéron has figured out in detail how every hundred francs (or four dollars) paid by the taxpayer is spent,

and this is the result of his calculations: While 41.50 per cent. goes to the public debt, 16 francs 44 centimes goes to pay war and old age pensions, and 16 francs 44 centimes to pay the civil service. Fifteen francs 61 centimes are needed for the army and navy, 15 centimes for governmental expenses, 9 francs 86 centimes are needed for hospitals and the rearing of orphans. Six centimes are spent on France's international expenses. These figures show the heavy burden that war has laid on the shoulders of the French taxpayer and the superhuman effort that the country had to make to carry it. The general opinion is that the limit has been reached.

The autonomist agitation in Alsace has caused the French Government to take certain repressive measures that had some further repercussion. Three autonomist papers, written in German, the *Volksstimme*, the *Wahrheit* and the *Zukunft*, were forbidden by ministerial decree of Nov. 13 for their scurrilous attacks on the French régime and their anti-national attitude. While asked for by many patriotic agencies and generally approved by the press of Alsace, this suppression raised objections because it was based on a law of 1895 giving the Government the right to prohibit newspapers published "in a foreign language." A Deputy of Bas Rhin wrote to Poincaré protesting in the name of the Popular Republic Union—the conservative Catholic Party—against the use of a law which assimilated German in Alsace to a foreign language. To this M. Poincaré replied frankly that there being in France no statute providing for the repression of acts, until now unheard of, that threaten "the principles of French unity and indivisibility," it was necessary to apply to these journals a law originally drafted against foreign papers published in France for foreigners.

The autonomists suffered some other setbacks. One M. Rossé, a leader of their party, a schoolmaster just dismissed for anti-French propaganda and editor of the clerical paper the *Elsässer Kurier*, was arrested at the beginning of December for his share in the organization of a financial society which violated in its circulars a law of 1926 punishing all attacks aiming to undermine the faith of the public in the financial credit of the State. A prominent lawyer, likewise committed to the autonomist policy, was also implicated. On the other hand, the Bishop of Strasbourg suspended a priest, Abbé Fasshauer, former editor of the *Volksstimme* and one of the most violent agitators of the clerico-auton-

omist faction, who was recently mixed up in a brawl in a Strasbourg café.

The Alsatian Communist Deputy, Hueber, had his fling in the Palais Bourbon, where on Dec. 8, he delivered such an abusive address that the Chamber, which had never heard anti-French sentiments uttered in its midst, were literally dumfounded and horrified. The President decided that the speech should be stricken from the records. But the most sensational development occurred on Dec. 30 when the magistrates, investigating another case, discovered what seemed like a plot to prepare for an insurrection. Lists of adherents, names of those supplying funds and plans for armed conflict are said to have been found. Twelve leaders were arrested, among them the Abbé Fasshauer already mentioned, one Agnes Eggenmann, a woman known for her anti-French activities, and the treasurer of the "Heimatbund." Among the others were journalists, a bank clerk, a furniture maker, a shoemaker and a contractor. Dr. Roos, the official leader, managed to escape. The French Government, until now both lenient and patient toward the men plotting against the State, has entered into a policy of repression which is a new experience in French politics, where anti-French propaganda was unknown.

The repression of communistic outbursts, however, is very well known, and has come to be one of the routine duties of all administrations since the Soviet Government has been regulating the policies of the party and supports them with its money. These Communists are, with the young Royalists, the *enfants terribles* of French politics. Their antics form now in all the papers a special daily feature. They have twenty-seven members in the House, where they play a more noisy than brilliant part, although their leader, Marcel Cachin, is not without talent and is generally considered an honest and sincere partisan. Obstruction has been their main parliamentary weapon, yet the House, with quixotic generosity had, for the duration of the session, opened the doors of the prison to five of them sentenced to jail for anti-military propaganda. When the session was ended, they managed to escape. On Jan. 11, however, Marcel Cachin, who was one of the five, returned and showed himself in the House. They have a very elaborate organization and are well supplied with funds. They own the paper of which Jaurès was the founder, *L'Humanité*. They have established their "cells," as they call their propaganda units, in various public services, in many factories, some in the State of-

fices and even in the army. A goodly number of public school teachers are under their influence, and recently a professor of one of the important provincial lycées at Avignon, was removed for communistic utterances in his class room. A Mayor of a small town north of Paris was found in possession of secret documents presumably of a military nature which caused his arrest for espionage. In fact, the Communists' hand is found in all the strikes, disorders or mutinies that have occurred in France of recent date.

A recent incident, which gave the French press a great deal of entertainment, threw some interesting light on the resources and activities of the party. A portfolio belonging to a prominent Communist, one Marrane, Mayor of Ivry, near Paris, and director of a workingmen's bank, fell into the hands of the Socialist Party. It was said that the portfolio had been lost in a taxi; but that is not certain. However, the Socialists, who have no love for their former brethren, had the documents photographed before returning his property to the absent-minded Marrane. These documents were very edifying since they contained an

itemized list of disbursements made by the Communists to various groups and individuals more or less vaguely designated. One of the items referred to the monthly allowance of the political personnel of the "centre." This personnel is composed of twenty-four members and they received the sum of 369,892 francs. An item of 113,000 francs was listed as "aid to the army." What, however, puzzled the Socialists was to find the sum of 54,000 francs attributed to "the Left wing of the Section Française, Internationale Ouvrier [the official Socialist Party]." As some members of the party are known for their Bolshevik leanings this was quite a startling bit of information. The bourgeois press, which has no reason to meddle with the Socialists and Communists, was mainly interested in the fact that the sum accounted for by these disbursements represented, for a period of not more than nine months, a total of 2,000,000 francs—a large amount of money, even today, for a party of proletarians. And if its size is eloquent its uses are disquieting, to say the least. There is little doubt that this will furnish material for the electoral campaign which is already in full swing.

EVENTS IN BELGIUM

THE new Jaspar Ministry, made up of Catholics and Liberals, seems solidly established, and its general policy was approved by both Houses after debates lasting until the middle of December. In the Senate, confidence in the Government was voted by 85 votes, both Catholic and Liberal, against 53 Socialists.

The question of military service continued in the forefront. The committees of the House have refused by 74 votes against 68 to take into consideration the bill presented by a Socialist member establishing outright the six-month military service. On the other hand, on Dec. 22 the size of the army was established at 61,000 by a vote of 91 to 80.

The sound condition of the finances has enabled the Government not only to reduce the taxes by 425,000,000 francs, but also to

revise all salaries of public officials and to adjust them to the rising cost of living. The principle has been to multiply all salaries of 1914 by a coefficient which varies according to the rank of the official. The figure 6 was chosen for high officials, while for the more modest salaries the coefficient is 7, 8 or even 9. School teachers and university professors are benefited by this new scale. Moreover, special allowances for functionaries with families are provided for, starting with 30 francs a month for one child, and rising to 150 francs for all children above the fourth.

It appears from various reports that Belgium is one of the countries of Europe where the cost of living is now the most reasonable. Here, too, we find gratifying signs of economic recovery which justify optimistic hopes.



Gilbert's Second Warning to Germany

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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AGENT GENERAL S. PARKER GILBERT in his annual report to the Reparations Commission took occasion to reiterate his previous remonstrance regarding Germany's administration of her finances. Milder in tone than his earlier communication on this subject, it nevertheless sternly insisted that the Reich minimize its expenditures and reform its present financial arrangement with the Federated States. Much space was devoted to an analysis of the German budget, and though he sharply criticized the arrangements of the last and the present fiscal year, he nevertheless gave the Government credit for having improved considerably in its financial program for the fiscal year beginning next April. While viewing the Reich's currency as absolutely sound, he expressed doubt as to whether the large volume of foreign credits is now beneficial to Germany. German business, he asserted, is in excellent shape and although imports exceed exports by 3,600,000,000 marks, exports are steadily gaining, and unemployment is decreasing.

Two features of the report attracted world-wide attention. In the first place, the Agent General flatly denied the thesis advanced by certain American bankers that foreign loans for German private enterprises take precedence over reparations payments. The Versailles Treaty, he contended, made allied reparations "a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States." Secondly, his insistence that the Dawes plan was not conceived as final, but was intended only to operate over a period sufficient to restore confidence, is taken in many circles, including French, to mean that the Agent General regards the review of the reparations question by international experts as imperative as soon as the workings of the Dawes plan have been sufficiently tested to provide the necessary data.

The report concludes with the following two significant sentences:

And as time goes on and practical experience accumulates, it becomes always clearer that neither the reparation problem nor the other problems depending upon it will be finally solved until Germany has been given

a definite task to perform on her own responsibility, without foreign supervision and without transfer protection.

This, I believe, is the principal lesson to be drawn from the past three years, and it should be constantly in the minds of all concerned as the execution of the plan continues to unfold.

To the annoyance of official Washington, many persons on both sides of the Atlantic have linked a revision of reparations with the question of allied debts. Despite the fact that Mr. Mellon denies that there is any connection between the two, the feeling persists, especially in France and in Germany. And the French make it clear that they will oppose any cut in reparations which is not correlated with the problem of the interallied debts. Indeed, Premier Poincaré, on Dec. 23, went so far as to declare that Germany must eventually pay 132,000,000,000 gold marks, the amount arranged for in 1921 prior to Germany's acceptance of the Dawes plan. The German press in general retorted that the French Premier saw revision of the reparations in the offing and was merely engaged in strategic jockeying.

Interestingly enough the Agent General's report was ably seconded in a manifesto signed by the central banking, industrial, commercial and shipping associations. It begins by stressing the dangers to the German body economic arising out of the constantly climbing tax burdens and the imperative need for the improvement of the living standard through the steady development of industry, trade and agriculture. Therefore, it declares, everything tending to increase the cost of commodity production and prevent the creation of fresh capital must be avoided. The Federal Finance Minister, it suggests, should be accorded the right of vetoing increases in Federal, State and municipal budgets passed by the Reichstag and State or communal legislatures; a similar right in connection with the State and municipal draft budgets prior to their submission to the legislators, and the right of obtaining from the States and communes all necessary information about their financial status, including details about their funded and floating obligations.

Despite the Agent General's warnings,

the bill increasing the salaries of civil servants and officials has become law. As a result the budget will be burdened by at least 500,000 marks, according to the estimate of the Catholic Centrists, who opposed the measure. Regarding the cost to the Reich, the other parties were silent, fearing that their chances in the next elections would be endangered by opposition to the salary increases.

A decision of the Supreme Court has annulled the last Diet elections held in Mecklenburg-Strelitz on July 3 and in Hamburg on Oct. 9. Fresh elections are, therefore, to be held in Mecklenburg-Strelitz on Jan. 29 and in Hamburg on Feb. 12. The Hessian Diet is also affected, but no decision has yet been reached as to new elections. Immediately before the elections occurred the States in question had passed emergency decrees providing that each party presenting a list be obliged to make a money deposit, which it would forfeit in the event of its failing to obtain enough votes to give it one seat in the Diet; an additional safeguard was demanded in the shape of a minimum number of signatures of voters in the constituency on the election application presented by the party with its list of candidates. The object of this was to prevent the waste of public money and the multiplication of small parties with no prospect of winning seats. The Court declared these decrees unconstitutional, thus nullifying the elections.

The court declared the decrees unconstitutional on three grounds: First, because emergency decrees should be issued only in an emergency and the court found that there was no emergency; secondly, because the demand for a deposit was, in its opinion, contrary to the provisions of Article 17 of the Constitution, guaranteeing equal election rights, and, consequently, opportunities, to all; and thirdly, because it considered the demand for a large number of signatures to be a violation of the secret ballot. This applied particularly to the Hessian regulation, which required nearly as many as the number of votes necessary to obtain a seat.

The suggestion has been made that, as the ambitions of small "fragment" parties, as they are called, undoubtedly place an undesirable burden on the German electoral system, a constitutional amendment should be passed that would permit the introduction in Federal States of deterrent regulations. The present Reich election law demands 500 signatures, although twenty will suffice if the applicants can produce reasonable evidence that their list has the

support of at least 500 voters in the constituency.

The Reich's treasury must be dipped into to the extent of 72,000,000 marks to help East Prussia out of her present financial difficulties, due, an official communiqué issued on Dec. 21 intimates, to a mistake made by the Versailles Treaty in establishing the Polish corridor and thereby cutting off one German province from the main body of the Reich. East Prussia is in a financial plight, needing immediate action, the Government has decided; and accordingly agriculture in East Prussia will be aided by loans at low rates and short term loans will be converted to longer terms; industry will also receive funds to renew operations. To raise this money a national bond issue is proposed. The Cabinet's generosity is seen as a bid for the favor of East Prussian votes in the coming election.

After a stiff fight the Reichstag on Dec. 16 enacted the so-called auto-parts law, raising the tariff duties on automobile parts to the same rate charged for finished cars, namely, 150 marks per 100 kilos until July 1, 1928, and thereafter 100 marks, an increase of about 16 per cent. The five American concerns, Ford, Willys-Overland, General Motors, Hudson-Essex, and Chrysler, thus stand to lose an investment totaling about \$12,000,000, besides the organizations they have built up with considerable care and expense, and Berlin's unemployment, it is asserted, will increase by at least 4,000. The German automobile industry, however, will have practically a monopoly on the business and will be enabled to revert to the former high prices charged before the Americans entered the field.

The last German census discloses some interesting facts concerning the religious affiliations of the German people and the changes that have occurred since the World War. The overwhelming majority of the population belongs to either the Protestant or the Roman Catholic Church. No fewer than 96.5 per cent. of the people have such affiliations, as against 98.5 per cent. before the war. The decrease has been actually greater in the Protestant membership than in the Catholic, though proportionately less. The ratio between the two faiths remains very little changed, the Protestants outnumbering the Catholics by about 2 to 1—or 40,000,000 to 20,000,000. The proportion of Protestants is, however, a little larger than before, because of the fact that the population of the territories lost by Germany as a result of the war was predominantly Catholic.

The most noteworthy change has been the great increase in the number of Free Thinkers, who repudiate both Protestantism and Catholicism. They have grown from 209,000 in 1910 to 1,551,000 in 1925, 911,000 being men and 640,000 women.

The Government's anti-strike law was put to an acid test when in December 250,000 employees of the German steel trust threatened to strike unless given an eight-hour day and an increase in wage of 10 pfennigs per hour. As soon as the strike loomed, Minister of Labor Brauns appointed an arbitrator, who decided for labor, favoring the shorter working day and a wage increase of 2 pfennigs per hour. While neither party was entirely satisfied, they were officially informed by the Government that the decision was binding. The steel trust maintains that the decision will impose an additional expense of 25,000,000 marks yearly on the industry.

AUSTRIA—The thirty men, all Socialists, arrested for throwing stones and setting fire to the Palace of Justice last July, were found not guilty by an Austrian jury and freed at once. Their acquittal, as well as the acquittal of a number of other Socialists accused of crime, caused conservative Viennese to condemn the jury system. Led by Dr. Dinghofer, Minister of Justice, the Christian Socialists instituted a campaign in favor of the adoption of the German system of mixed courts which does not recognize law juries, but provides for a jury composed of two lawyers and two citizens of whom it is required that three be in accord before a defendant can be declared guilty or not guilty. Inasmuch as the Christian Socialists do not command a two-thirds vote of the legislature—the vote necessary to effect a change in the Constitution—and the Socialists are unalterably opposed to the Dinghofer proposal, it is extremely doubtful whether it will find its way into the Constitution.

The proposed \$100,000,000 Austrian loan to be placed in the United States was held up temporarily by the United States Government. The point at issue was whether a previous United States loan amounting to about \$32,000,000, including unpaid accrued interest, should be subordinated to the new loan, and American officials were of the opinion that the question could be settled only by Congressional action.

The Austrian foreign trade situation has not improved. The *Neue Freie Presse* writes that the year 1927 closes with an

adverse balance exceeding 1,000,000,000 schillings. It points out that in the second half of the year the country's export trade rose considerably until November, but that export of textile goods decreased in that month, while shipments to Germany, especially of timber, declined very heavily; only the export of ores continued higher than a year ago. The reactionary tendency in Austrian industry, for the time at any rate, is plainly indicated by the course of unemployment. At the end of November 160,000 workmen were receiving doles, as against 140,000 on Nov. 15. However, since last season's maximum of unemployment reached in January, 1927, was 235,000, the present status may still be considered favorable.

HOLLAND—The Dutch East Indies people's Council has passed, by a majority of 34 votes against 18, a bill modifying the Constitution. The bill, which has to be confirmed by both Houses of the Dutch Parliament before it becomes law, proposes to reform the composition of the People's Council, which has consisted hitherto of twenty-five native members, five foreign Orientals, thirty Europeans, and the President, the Europeans thus being in a majority of one. The Government of the Dutch East Indies placed before the People's Council a short time ago a new bill altering these proportions to thirty natives, five foreign Orientals, twenty-five Europeans and the President. This bill was passed. At the same time the People's Council decided to propose a further alteration, making the proportions thirty-six native Indians, six foreign Orientals, thirty Europeans and the President.

SWITZERLAND—The Swiss Federal Council decided, on Dec. 7, that, though the French proposals for a trade agreement were not satisfactory, it was willing to sign a *modus vivendi* with France in regard to customs duties until the French Government makes further concessions. If France declines to make any further concessions, Switzerland will denounce the trade treaty concluded in 1906.

On Dec. 24 the Swiss Government refused a request from Moscow to install a permanent official bureau in Geneva with the alleged object of keeping in touch with the work of the League of Nations. On the other hand, the Federal authorities permitted a journalist named Rejewsky, chief of the Soviet telegraph agency, to attend the League sessions as an observer.

Italy's Return to the Gold Standard

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE outstanding event in Italy during the last month was the return to the gold standard. The decree authorizing the change was announced on Dec. 21 and went into effect immediately. It fixed the value of the paper lire at 19 to the dollar, 92.46 to the pound sterling and 3.66 to the gold lira—a very slight difference from its recent value.

Back of the paper lira is the gold reserve in the Bank of Italy, which is reported to amount to more than 50 per cent. of the total currency. It is further guaranteed by foreign credits. These credits, according to a statement of the Minister of Finance, Count Volpi, were granted by fourteen nations and reach the sum of \$125,000,000. Of this amount \$75,000,000 was placed at Italy's disposal by the central banks of these nations, with the United States Federal Reserve System and the Bank of England at their head; while the remaining \$50,000,000 was made available largely by American and British banks. Altogether 94 per cent. of the circulation is said to be covered. That the Bank of Italy would actually need to use these credits, Count Volpi declared, was not probable. They were merely needed "to complete the formidable defense of the maximum limit of exchange which the Government has fixed for the Italian lira. These defenses are now so formidable that they are sufficient to defeat even the most daring possibility of speculation." Although the sudden announcement of the return to the gold basis came as a surprise to the general public, it was known for some time to Government officials and leading bankers of the countries concerned that Italy was seeking credits.

The immediate result was a favorable reaction in the world markets and a rise in Italian stocks. The fact that the new valuation is close to that to which the people were accustomed made the transition easier. There are still, however, grave economic problems in Italy, involving vast numbers of unemployed and a very high cost of living. To what degree the new arrangement will solve these problems and adjust the relations between wages, currency and cost of living remains to be seen. At least the promise of stability made for

confidence and produced a chorus of gratitude for what was called Mussolini's Christmas gift to the nation. The press with one voice hailed the measure as a marked step in the prosperity of the country and as incontrovertible evidence of the success of the existing régime. Belgium and France, it was pointed out, are in a much more favorable situation than Italy. Yet Belgium was obliged to stabilize the franc at about thirty-five to the dollar, while France achieved a de facto stabilization at about twenty-five to the dollar. That Italy, despite this fact, was able to carry through the conversion under better conditions was due primarily, the press declared, to her Fascist Government and to the genius of Mussolini.

As bearing on the drastic innovations in the Parliamentary régime, proposed by the Fascist Grand Council on Nov. 11, 1927, the text of the principles enunciated by the Council on this date with regard to the reform of the Chamber was as follows (*Corriere della Sera*, Nov. 12, 1927):

1. Any system of national representation must be based on the situation which actually exists in Italy, namely: the suppression of all political parties hostile to Fascism; the existence of one political party functioning as the organ of the Régime; juridical recognition of the great productive and economic organizations of the nation, which are the corporative syndical basis of the State.

2. Considering the short time that has elapsed since these syndical organizations were instituted, they can not be allowed to replace the Party in its political functions in the Government and to assume singly the task of national representation. They can be allowed to take only the first step in that direction.

3. The thirteen great economic organizations in which the masses of Italian producers and workmen are grouped will propose to the Grand Council a certain number of candidates which will be fixed.

4. The Grand Council will consider these candidates and eventually make eliminations in order to ensure that every candidate is of firm Fascist faith and has the necessary attitude to represent not only the particular interests of the syndicate to which he belongs, but also the general and superior interests of the nation and the Régime which are not exclusively of economic or similar importance.

5. The Grand Council will complete the list of candidates proposed by the great economic syndicates with other elements, the

proportion of which will be fixed later. At this point the list loses the first fragmentary character of its origin, and, having received the sanction of the totality of the Party, it becomes the list which the political Régime presents to the nation.

6. The list which departs from the system of single categories and reduces them all to one common denominator—the Party—and which ignores territorial distinctions necessarily becomes national, as the whole territory of the nation forms one constituency.

7. The right to vote will not be given to citizens indifferently according to the old systems of universal democratic suffrage, but only to those who have proved, on the basis of syndical contributions, that they are active elements in the life of the nation, and also to other classes which the law on the juridical discipline of collective contracts has not taken into consideration but which, nevertheless, are useful to the nation as a whole.

8. The national list of the single national constituency will be voted by symbol.

9. The representation of those organizations which are recognized de facto and which move within the orbit of the Régime will be studied.

10. The number of Deputies will be reduced from 560 to 400.

11. The particular functions of the Assembly will be specified later.

12. The Senate will remain unchanged in its present composition except for some reforms which concern only its internal functioning.

With this system [the *Corriere* comments] the Grand Council has avoided the danger of the old system of purely political and electoral representation and the potential danger of creating a representation exclusively based on interests likely to destroy the economic-political-spiritual unity of the Régime. The intervention of the Party conciliates politics with economy on the plane of general and superior interests of the Régime. This does not preclude the possibility that, as the syndical organizations become consolidated and perfected after the experience of the first Legislature, a typical and exclusive form of national corporative Fascist representation may be found.

Further efforts to promote national prosperity are being made by the Government. A "national conscience" must be formed, it declares. One evidence of the possession of such a conscience, according to Signor Velluzzo, Minister of National Economy, is the buying of Italian-made products. People must be taught, he urged in a speech before the Senate, that by buying only 50 cents worth of a foreign product they are contributing to an adverse trade balance and to unemployment.

In foreign affairs the month was marked by a decided diminution of expressions of hostility to France, a diminution perhaps not altogether unconnected with the need of Italy of obtaining credits. At all events the acrimonious attack on France by the

Italian press over the recent Franco-Yugoslav treaty died down, and Mussolini received with some cordiality the suggestion made by M. Briand that the two should meet and talk over the relations between France and Italy. Such a discussion would be profitable, he declared, only after certain causes of friction had been removed. The problems which made for misunderstanding were "neither grave nor insoluble, but merely delicate." These problems involve the recognition of Italian rights in Tangier, the protection of Italians in Tunis, the preponderant interests of Italy in the Adriatic and in the Balkans, the control of anti-Fascist propaganda and the status of Italian nationals in France. The fundamental question, however, centres about Italy's desire for colonial expansion, particularly in the Near East.

A beginning, at least, has been made toward better understanding. The French Government suspended an Italian newspaper in Paris for printing a headline which contained an obvious threat against Mussolini, and Mussolini presented to the Council of Ministers a temporary plan for the regulation of the treatment of the nationals of each country in the territory of the other, to be operated as a *modus vivendi* till a permanent convention can be concluded.

While planning for the future of Italy's foreign relations, the Government under Mussolini gives much attention to internal development along most diverse lines. Recent decrees provide, for instance, for the exemption from registration and other taxes of work on sporting fields and stadiums, on the ground that they are of public necessity; for the institution of proceedings against delinquents under the sanitary laws, and for making part of Pompeii an autonomous commune, thus creating a kind of national centre of historic art.

Opponents of Fascism continue to meet with short shrift. Francesco Nitti, former Prime Minister of Italy, and Signor Lebricola, former Minister of Labor, were recently excluded from the Naples bar as the result of alleged anti-Fascist activities and sentiments.

On the other hand it is reported that at Christmas time Mussolini carried out his previously announced intention of releasing numbers of political prisoners. Three hundred were thus allowed to return from their exile in Italy's penal colonies.

On Dec. 19 the Pope held a secret consistory for the creation of five new Car-

dinals. An important encyclical was issued on Jan. 10, in which the Pope stated that there is no possibility of understanding between the Catholic and other churches and urged the return of dissidents to Rome.

SPAIN—General Primo de Rivera, on the second anniversary of the establishment of his dictatorship, made an official announcement through the press in which he declared in substance that Spain was not ready for any other kind of government. It was the duty of the present régime, he declared, "to continue and to bring to achievement a work which was now only in its beginning. There could be no greater mistake than to try to carry on a normal Government without having first prepared an environment in which the life of the nation could function normally."

The United States State Department issued the following statement on Dec. 29:

On June 28, 1927, the Spanish Government issued a decree providing for the establishment of an oil monopoly in Spain under Government auspices. This decree was supplemented by further decrees issued in October and the monopoly was awarded to a group of Spanish bankers and financiers. To put the monopoly into effect the Spanish Government, beginning about Dec. 1, has been taking over private installations, including those belonging to foreign concerns. Among those thus taken over are the plants at Alicante and Valencia belonging to the Standard Oil of New Jersey, and a plant at Malaga which is largely American owned. The department has been watching the situation closely and has from time to time issued appropriate instructions to the American Embassy at Madrid to make representations in order to protect American oil properties in Spain. A telegram from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, dated Dec. 27, states as follows: "Interviewed the Premier yesterday and, at his suggestion, Minister of Finance. Seizures and compensation were fully discussed and appropriate representations made. Both Ministers gave assurances that valuation of property seized or products seized would begin immediately; that the entire industrial property of the companies involved will

be directed by the monopoly; that interest payments will be made from the date of seizure and that compensation will follow as rapidly as possible. Both stated that it was the Government's intention to deal generously with expropriated interests."

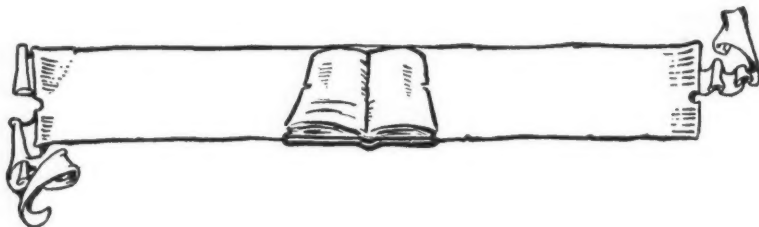
Subsequently J. S. Cullinan, President of the American Republics Corporation, announced that the Petroleum Export Association, a subsidiary of American Republics, had entered into a contract to furnish all the crude oil and not less than 25 per cent. of the refined products required by Spain for five years commencing Jan. 1, 1928. This cleared up uncertainty aroused by reports that the Spanish oil monopoly had given contracts to Soviet Russia for its requirements.

A recent decree of the Government placed restrictions on emigration from Spain. Laborers, male minors and women under 25 in order to secure permission to emigrate must show that they are prepared to make a living abroad.

According to an old Spanish custom diplomatic envoys of Spain have always been chosen from representatives selected by the King, persons already in the diplomatic service, or former Ministers of the Crown. This tradition Premier de Rivera has just set aside by appointing as envoy to Argentina Señor Maeztu, an essayist and writer of humble origin. Señor Maeztu started his career as an anarchist and revolutionary, but has since become a staunch supporter of the dictator.

A new air line, the third in Spain, connecting Madrid and Barcelona, was recently opened.

PORTUGAL—It is reported that the Portuguese Government has asked the League of Nations to prepare a plan for the financial reconstruction of Portugal on the basis of an international loan, such as was made in the case of Austria and Hungary.



The Ebb and Flow of Balkan Politics

By FREDERIC A. OGG

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE Polish Republic entered the year 1928 in the midst of an extremely vigorous electoral campaign. With both Sejm (Parliament) and Senate to be chosen early in March, Government, political parties and electorate are equally appreciative of the importance of the contest, which indeed closes the first distinct chapter of Polish political history following the May revolution of 1926.

Not only the political, but even the constitutional future of the country is in the balance. Prior to the 1926 revolution the scale inclined very strongly in favor of the legislative branch of the Government. Since that event the Executive has been completely supreme; from May, 1926, to Nov. 28, 1927, when it died a natural death, Parliament led a decidedly miserable life. The next Sejm will have exceptional rights and privileges to amend the Constitution without the Senate's consent, and it may very well introduce changes that will rearrange the entire structure of the republic.

Three groups are actively preparing for the elections. The National Right, which played so important a rôle before May, 1926, is now in utter eclipse. On the left, the Socialists, who recently won notable victories in municipal elections, are most numerous and hopeful. The Government supporters will attempt to create a large bloc to fill the centre, whose absence was strongly felt in the old Parliament. They range from the aristocratic and conservative land owners, industrialists and financiers to radical peasants and small artisans of the intelligentsia. Their program is founded completely in their faith in Marshal Pilsudski.

While political life is still troubled, and perhaps not likely soon to become settled, the economic position and international situation of Poland have improved remarkably in the past year and now show signs of permanent stability. The next Parliament will be called upon to do something substantial toward solving the agrarian question, which easily ranks first among the country's social and economic problems. The principal elements in the question are land distribution and agricultural credit. Mr. Charles Dewey, American ob-

server at the Bank of Poland, recently said that Poland had made remarkable progress in reconstruction, but that from this time onward the pace must be slower.

The past few months have witnessed a most unfortunate revival of anti-Semitism in various countries of Southeastern Europe, particularly Hungary and Rumania. In the latter country numerous demonstrations and disorders have been engaged in by bands of university students, and the use of Government troops to preserve or restore order has repeatedly proved necessary. In one of the outbreaks, at Oradia Mare, Wilfred N. Keller, American-born citizen of Linden Hall, Pennsylvania, was beaten and stabbed. The case was taken up promptly by the American Minister, W. S. Culbertson, who threatened to proceed to the scene of the offense for purposes of a personal investigation unless the Rumanian authorities made prompt redress. On Dec. 12 M. Titulescu, Foreign Minister at Bucharest, expressed the Government's deep regret and offered full apology, at the same time condemning unsparingly the whole anti-Semitic movement as one which had brought Rumania only trouble at home and discredit abroad. Attacks on their nationals have brought protests also from representatives of the British, French, Hungarian governments. Court-martial proceedings were opened on Dec. 13 against thirty-three students arrested in consequence of the rioting at Oradia Mare and Bucharest and at the same time it was announced that the Government intended to present to Parliament a bill asking credit of more than 88,000,000 lei (\$545,000) in order to pay damages growing out of student disturbances in the past few weeks.

An anti-Semitic organization with large funds is declared by well-informed Rumanians to exist in Bucharest, the funds coming mainly from Hungarian Nationalist societies, which also gave financial support to the recent riots against Jewish students in Hungarian universities. The organization, it is charged, hires agents-provocateurs who work among the Nationalist students, inciting them to outrages against the Jews and, masquerading as students, themselves engage in attacks upon the Jews.

An interesting constitutional development in Greece was the announcement, in the middle of December, of a plan for creating—more properly, reviving—an upper house, or Senate. The earlier Greek Senate was arbitrarily created by decree of King Otto in 1843 to serve as a check upon the Bulé, or Assembly. The latter body was elected by universal suffrage, but the members of the former were appointed entirely by the sovereign. Following a military revolt in 1862, a National Assembly was elected which, under the auspices of the country's international protectors, declared all the acts of King Otto—including the creation of a Senate—unconstitutional, and subsequently deposed the King. The Constitu-

tion had provided all the while for only a single chamber; and thenceforth to the present day there has been but one.

The bicameral principle has now, however, won general acceptance, and a bill has been prepared for the creation of a Senate of 120 members. The plan shows influence of the old parliamentary system, the Spanish National Assembly, and the Fascist Chamber in Italy. Ninety Senators are to be elected directly by the people; twenty are to represent commercial, labor, professional and scientific syndicates, and ten will represent the Bulé, or chamber, with the idea of giving the latter "control" in the lower house. Senators are to be at least 40 years old, and all will serve three years.

RECENT BALKAN TREATIES

THE official text of the Franco-Yugoslav treaty of friendship and arbitration,¹ signed in Paris on Nov. 11 and discussed in the December issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, is as follows:

The President of the French Republic and his Majesty the King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes,

Equally animated by the desire of maintaining in Europe a state of peace and political stability which is as necessary to social progress as to the economic prosperity of France and of the Serb, Croat and Slovene State;

Firmly attached to the principle of respect for international engagements, solemnly confirmed by the Covenant of the League of Nations;

Desirous of assuring in advance within the framework of this Covenant their common views in case of any subversion of the position established by the treaties to which they are signatories;

And convinced of the duty of modern Governments to prevent the recurrence of wars by foreseeing the peaceful settlement of disputes which may arise between them;

Have resolved, with this end in view, to enter into new assurances of peace, of alliance and friendship, and have designated as their Plenipotentiaries the following:

The President of the French Republic: M. Aristide Briand, Deputy, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Majesty, the King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes: M. Marinkovich, Deputy, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Art. 1.—France and the Serb, Croat and Slovene State mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

This stipulation shall not apply, however, in the case of:

1. The exercise of the right of legitimate defense, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the first paragraph of the present article;

2. Action in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations;

3. Action in pursuance of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of Article 15, Paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

Art. 2.—In view of the undertaking entered into in Article 1 of the present treaty, France and the Serb, Croat and Slovene State undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the following manner all questions of any nature whatever which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy: any question with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the parties undertake to comply with such decision; all other questions shall be submitted to a commission of conciliation. If the proposals of this commission are not accepted by the two parties the question shall be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which will deal with it in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant of the League.

The detailed arrangements for effecting such peaceful settlement are the subject of a special convention¹ signed this day.

Art. 3.—The Government of the French Republic and the Royal Government of the Serb, Croat and Slovene State undertake to examine in common, subject to eventual resolution by the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations, all matters which may threaten the external security of France or the Serb, Croat and Slovene State or which may tend to subvert the situation created by the treaties to which both parties are signatories.

Art. 4.—If, notwithstanding the sincerely peaceful intention of the French and Serb, Croat and Slovene Governments, France or

¹The text of the special convention of arbitration signed on the same day and annexed to the present treaty is identical with the Franco-Rumanian convention of arbitration of June 10, 1926.

the Serb, Croat and Slovene State should be attacked without giving provocation, the two Governments shall take concerted measures without delay as to their respective steps to be taken within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations for the protection of their legitimate national interests and for the maintenance of the position established by the treaties to which they are signatories.

Art. 5—The high contracting parties are in agreement as to the steps to be taken in common in the event of a modification or of any attempt to modify the political status of the countries of Europe and, subject to the resolutions which may be passed in similar cases by the Council or by the Assembly of the League of Nations, to agree upon the respective policies to be followed in such a case.

Art. 6—The high contracting parties declare that nothing in the present treaty shall be interpreted contrary to the provisions of treaties now in force which have been signed by France or the Serb, Croat and Slovene State and which concern their policy in Europe. In order to coordinate their efforts they undertake to consult each other in questions affecting European policy and, with this object in mind, will communicate henceforth to each other the treaties or agreements which they may conclude with third Powers on the same question and which shall have always as their object the maintenance of peace.

Art. 7—Nothing in the present treaty shall be interpreted or applied in such manner as to subvert the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties by virtue of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Art. 8—The present treaty shall be communicated to the League of Nations for registration, conformably to Article 18 of the Covenant.

Art. 9—The present treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Paris as soon as may be possible.

It shall enter into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications and shall remain in force for five years, at the expiration of which period it may be renewed providing due notice is given at the end of the fourth year and for a period to be determined.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present treaty and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done in Paris on the 11th November, 1927.

(Signed) BRIAND.

(Signed) MARINKOVICH.

Text of Italo-Albanian Treaty of Defensive Alliance.

The official text² of the Italo-Albanian treaty of defensive alliance, signed at Tirana on Nov. 22, is as follows:

Italy and Albania, desirous of solemnly reaffirming and developing the ties of solidarity which happily exist between the two States, and of devoting all their efforts toward eliminating the causes likely to trouble the peace which exists between them

and with other States, recognizing the advantages of a close collaboration between the two States, and reaffirming that the interests and the security of one State are reciprocally bound to the interests and the security of the other, have decided to establish by this treaty a defensive alliance, the sole object of which is to stabilize the natural relations happily existing between the two States, in order to assure a policy of pacific development, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries: For his Majesty the King of Italy, his Excellency M. Ugo Sola, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Italy in Albania; and for the President of the Albanian Republic, his Excellency Ilias Bey Vrioni, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Albania, who, having exchanged their full powers, found in due form, have agreed upon the following:

Art. 1—All anterior treaties concluded between the two high contracting parties after the admission of Albania into the League of Nations shall be fully and faithfully observed in the limits established by the text of those treaties so that there will exist a sincere and perfect amity between the two peoples and between the two Governments as well as a reciprocal assistance, it being understood that each of the two high contracting parties will support the interests and advantages of the other with the same zeal that it has for supporting its own.

Art. 2—There will be an unalterable defensive alliance between Italy on the one part and Albania on the other for twenty years. The alliance may be denounced in the course of the eighteenth or nineteenth year of its duration. If such denunciation does not take place it will be tacitly renewed for an equal period. The two contracting parties will employ all their attention and all their means toward guaranteeing the security of their States and toward their defense and their reciprocal safeguard against every external attack.

Art. 3—In consequence of the undertakings assumed under the preceding articles, the two high contracting parties will act in agreement for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and in case one of the high contracting parties should be menaced by war not provoked by itself the other party will employ the most effective means not only to prevent hostilities but also to assure just satisfaction for the menaced party.

Art. 4—When all means of conciliation have been used in vain each of the high contracting parties agrees to follow the destiny of the other by placing at the disposal of its ally all its military, financial or other resources which can aid the latter in overcoming the conflict if, of course, such assistance has been requested by the menaced party.

Art. 5—For all the suppositions foreseen in Article 4, the two high contracting parties agree not to conclude or to open negotiations for peace, armistice or truce without a common agreement.

Art. 6—The present treaty has been signed in four original texts, two in Italian and two in Albanian, which shall be of equal authority.

Art. 7—The present treaty shall be ratified and then registered with the League of Nations.

²Translated from the Italian by the European Economic and Political Survey.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Rome.

Done at Tirana on November 22, 1927.

(Signed)

UGO SOLA.

ILIAS VRIONI.

Letter of the Italian Minister to the Albanian Foreign Minister.

Mr. Minister:

In connection with the treaty of defensive alliance which we signed today, and particularly in the regrettable eventuality where Article 4 of this treaty should have to be applied, the Italian Government eagerly desires to give to the Albanian Government the following assurances and explanations:

In case when, all possibilities having been exhausted for averting by means of conciliation a menace of a third State against one of the two allied States, the latter should find itself in the presence of an attack not provoked by itself, which attack would necessitate the request for military assistance of the allied country for the defense of the attacked party, the command-in-chief of the interallied force would be given in Albania to the supreme commander of the Albanian forces, and in Italy to the supreme commander of the Italian forces. At the time of the signature of peace the allied forces which came to the assistance of the other

State shall be repatriated by their own means within a period fixed by the supreme commander under whose orders the troops served in the allied territory.

This letter constitutes an integral part of the Italo-Albanian treaty of defensive alliance and shall be ratified and then registered with the League of Nations together with the treaty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) UGO SOLA,
Minister of Italy.

Letter of the Albanian Foreign Minister to the Italian Minister.

Mr. Minister:

I have the honor to take note of the letter, dated today, in which your Excellency has given to the Albanian Government certain explanations and assurances concerning the treaty of defensive alliance signed by us today, and particularly in regard to the regrettable eventuality where Article 4 of the treaty should have to be applied. Thanking you profoundly for the spontaneous declarations which you made in the name of the Royal Government, I am happy to give to the Italian Government the same assurances in the name of the Albanian Government.

[Here follows the text of the assurances and explanations given in the letter of the Italian Minister.]

(Signed) ILIAS VRIONI.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Lithuania and Poland End Seven-Year "State of War"

By MILTON OFFUTT

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

RELATIONS between Lithuania and Poland, so tense during the last week of November that there seemed to be grave danger that active hostilities might take the place of the passive state of war which had long existed between the two countries, were suddenly and dramatically relaxed on Dec. 10 at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. Though the settlement achieved at Geneva was generally regarded as temporary, the crisis between the two Baltic States, each supported by an alliance with a great Power, and lying in a part of Europe considered as dangerous a war breeding ground as the Balkans, had become so threatening that a peaceful solution was considered with great satisfaction.

Since Lithuania's appeal to the Council of the League, the diplomats of the great Powers had realized that the friction between the two States, and especially the situation created by the closed and patrolled

frontier between Lithuania and Poland, could not be permitted to continue. That actual danger existed was only too plainly shown by the almost hysterical accusations and reprisals of October and by Marshal Pilsudski's admission, on Dec. 1, that he had seriously considered mobilizing the Polish army "to forestall attack." Consequently the Baltic dispute was scheduled for the Council's earliest consideration, and even before the formal opening of the session several unofficial conferences were attended by representatives of the Powers interested. These brought only emphatic declarations of his country's peaceful intentions from Premier Waldemaras of Lithuania, who stubbornly refused to discuss the resuming of diplomatic relations with Poland until the status of the Province of Vilna, wrested from Lithuania by Poland in 1920, should have been settled to his satisfaction. Since Waldemaras had consistently demanded the return of Vilna to

Lithuania, a condition to which it was considered most unlikely that Poland would consent, the matter remained deadlocked until brought officially to the notice of the League on Dec. 7.

On that day Premier Waldemaras and the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, presented their cases to the League Council. When each had expressed a desire for immediate action by the League, the Council appointed the Dutch Foreign Minister, Beelaerts Van Blockland, to investigate the problem and sent a committee to investigate conditions at the frontier.

The deadlock came to a sudden end on Dec. 10. At a secret morning session of the Council Waldemaras had just hinted to the members that he felt they were more friendly toward Marshal Pilsudski than toward himself, when the Polish leader arose angrily and declared: "Gentlemen, I have not heard the word peace mentioned. I came here to hear that word. If I do not hear it I will return to a place where the word war may be heard." According to press accounts, the Marshal then cried out, "I am going," and started to leave the room, but was pulled back into his seat by his Foreign Minister, Zaleski. Amid great excitement, Premiers Briand of France and Stresemann of Germany called on Waldemaras and Pilsudski to reconcile their differences in the interests of the peace.

At this point, according to spectators, Pilsudski turned toward Waldemaras and exclaimed:

"I have a definite question to put to the honorable representative of Lithuania. Is it peace or war?"

Waldemaras, who had a moment before been shouting in his own language, now quietly said:

"If he really means he wants peace, I will say peace."

Pilsudski replied: "That is not enough. I mean peace between our two nations." When the Lithuanian Prime Minister again uttered an angry exclamation, Pilsudski turned to the members of the Council and said:

"I take your fourteen delegates as witnesses. I now intend to telegraph to Warsaw to ring the bells and sing Te Deums."

Waldemaras, observers reported, sprang from his chair and shouted: "There are two kinds of Te Deums; one is the Te Deum of peace and good-will, one is the Te Deum of victory. If it is the first Te Deum he means, I agree. If it is the second, I refuse."

At this point Briand, addressing both

bellicose speakers, exclaimed: "You both mean the same things. You have got to stop. You both love each other. It is absolutely necessary."

Probably both the Baltic statesmen were "bluffing" in a dangerous game. To a dispassionate observer they seemed to act like small boys quarrelling, the bully conscious of his strength, the weaker attempting some semblance of a dignified retreat. However, for a time at least, the crisis ended with the paternal words of M. Briand. Marshal Pilsudski asserted that "great words" had been spoken; that the word peace had been uttered in a proper sense, and that consequently, his work at Geneva was finished. The details of the settlement, he said, he would leave to his Foreign Minister. He then retired from the Council chamber and, late in the afternoon, announced to the Polish press correspondents: "I have sent a telegram to Warsaw that Waldemaras, in the presence of the representatives of fourteen nations, has assured me that the state of war between our nations no longer exists."

Discussion of the details of the settlement continued throughout the day, and in the evening, at an open meeting of the Council of the League, that body officially and unanimously adopted a resolution declaring at an end the state of war between Poland and Lithuania. Marshal Pilsudski, though present, was in the visitors' gallery, and the resolution was accepted for their Governments by Premier Waldemaras and Foreign Minister Zaleski. A novel clause in the resolution, granting to the League powers over the affairs of sovereign States never before possessed by that body, provided that in the event of future warlike threats or incidents the Secretary General of the League, acting with the President of the Council, might take such steps as would be considered necessary to prevent another crisis.

Such as it was, the victory went neither to Poland nor to Lithuania. The seven-year-old state of war with Lithuania was ended and the opening of the frontier begun. Both these results were greatly desired by the Poles. Also the question of sovereignty over Vilna was not discussed, much less was there any move toward returning the province to Lithuania. But the very fact that Vilna's future was not determined by the Council of the League was everywhere considered an admission that the settlement of the crisis was only temporary. So long as Poland occupies the province without the sanction of the League, Lithuania may

hope to repossess it; and so long as such sanction is withheld the Poles must feel their occupation precarious. If, as foreign observers declared, Marshal Pilsudski went to Geneva to scare the Council into sanctioning the occupation, and if the annexation of Vilna was intended, as eminent Polish diplomats have frankly admitted, only as a prelude to the complete absorption of Lithuania, Polish plans for expansion have been confronted with an obstacle very difficult to overcome. Consequently the Lithuanians are not left without cause for satisfaction.

On Dec. 11, at a meeting between Premier Waldemaras and Foreign Minister Za-

leski, a conference was arranged to take place at Riga during January at which it was expected that plans for the complete resumption of normal relations between Poland and Lithuania would be decided upon. Meanwhile the French Government agreed to represent Polish interests at Kovno, and the Italian Government accepted a similar charge for Lithuanian interests at Warsaw.

When Waldemaras returned to Kovno on Dec. 17 his entry into the city assumed the character of a triumphal procession. As an earnest of better feeling throughout the nation, about one hundred of his political opponents were released from prison.

OTHER EVENTS IN NORTHERN EUROPE

SWEDEN—Early in December the police of Stockholm, following the arrest of a young Swedish officer in the Coast Guard Reserve, Goesta Norberg, announced that they had uncovered a spy system directed by the Soviet naval attaché, Paul Aras. Norberg, the police declared, had for several months been furnishing Aras with secret documents dealing with the system of Swedish coast defenses, and had received 1,400 kroner in payment therefor. Although the Soviet Minister to Sweden, M. Victor Kopp, insisted that the information obtained from Norberg was only of such a theoretical nature as appeared regularly in technical military journals, the Swedish press took the stand that the sum paid the artillery officer was too great to be justified by merely theoretical information. The *Svenska Dagbladet* declared its investigation showed that the Soviets had made Stockholm a centre for gathering secret information on Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and the Baltic States, and had made particular attempts to discover the system of aerial defense for the Southern Swedish provinces. The *Nya Dagbladet* confirmed these reports, and stated that the Soviet Minister and his naval attaché should understand that their presence had become undesirable.

A new railroad line on the northeast coast of Sweden was recently opened by the King. The new stretch for the first time connects Stockholm with the highly important port cities of Northern Sweden from which pulp, lumber and iron ore are exported.

A rail journey across Europe from Sweden to Asia Minor has been started by eight freight locomotives built for the Turkish

Government by Nydqvist & Holm at Trollhaettan, near Gothenburg. This shipment constitutes a part of the 100 locomotives and 1,500 cars which the company has agreed to build for the Turks.

NORWAY—An extraordinary meeting of the Norwegian Trade Union Congress at Oslo on Dec. 13 adopted a resolution by 152 votes to 64 regretting the friendly attitude of the majority of the Executive Committee toward the Amsterdam International. The resolution declared that the Norwegian movement would cooperate in the efforts to establish one single International and that the Norwegian Trade Union Congress would remain outside the Moscow and Amsterdam Internationals.

FINLAND—A change in the Ministry of Finland, by which the Agrarian Party formed its first Cabinet, took place on Dec. 16 after the defeat of the Social-Democratic Party in a vote on the budget. The retiring Cabinet, led by M. Tanner, had been in office since Dec. 13, 1926. The new Ministry was as follows:

J. E. SUNILA—Prime Minister.
HJALMAR PROCOPE—Foreign Affairs.
M. MALINEN—Justice.
JALO LAHDENSUO—Defense.
M. NIUKKANEN—Finance.
PASTOR ANTTI KUKKONEN—Education.
M. MATTSSON—Agriculture.
M. VESTERINEN—Public Assistance.
DR. HYNINEN—Communications.
M. HEIKKINEN—Commerce.
M. AURA—Interior.
M. LOHI—Social Affairs.
DR. JUTILA—Without portfolio.

A provisional commercial treaty between Finland and Switzerland, concluded in June, 1927, was ratified by the Finnish Diet and went into effect on Nov. 10. Both countries

agreed to allow each other's products a most-favored-nation treatment in all matters relating to importation, exportation and transportation, Finland making an exception to certain privileges she had already granted to Estonia.

The following interesting account of the new Finnish Parliament building was sent to CURRENT HISTORY by A. L. Virtuaavo of Finland:

On April 2, 1927, at Helsinki (Helsingfors), the cornerstone was laid for a building intended to be the monumental site of the Legislature of Finland.

When Finland, in 1809, was severed from Sweden the laws and institutions of the Swedes remained in force and the population was granted the same rights and privileges as before. Among those institutions was the people's Parliament or Diet, divided into four estates—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Bourgeois and the Farmers. This system remained after Finland became a Russian grand-duchy and was not altered until 1906, when, after the upheaval following the Russo-Japanese War, liberal winds were blowing for a short while. The Diet of four estates was then, by a constitutional amendment, transformed into a one-chamber Parliament. The estates had deliberated separately—the Nobles in the House of Nobles, the other three estates in the Estates' House. Neither of these structures contained a session room large enough to seat the single chamber of 200 representatives. Thus for twenty years the Parliament of Finland held its sessions in rented premises.

The happenings of 1906 created a hopeful spirit in Finland. The Parliament reform was understood to be a landmark, a starting point for a new era, happier than bygone decades. Under the influence of this optimistic spirit the Parliament voted to build a lasting monument in the form of a dominating structure—a Parliament House that should stand out as a landmark, to be erected on a hill dominating the capital city of the country. The foremost architects of Finland submitted designs. Unanimously the Jury of Award gave the prize to a plan designed by Eliel Saarinen, and Parliament approved the jury's award, but as the decision was never agreed to by the Grand Duke Saarinen's building was never erected. It shared the fate of many constructive plans approved and backed by the Finnish Parliament during the last hard ten years of Finland's dependency on Russia.

In December, 1917, Finland declared itself an independent republic. During the period of almost ten years that since has passed the Parliament has had to concentrate on questions of reconstruction, of organizing national defense and foreign service, of regulating the life of the nation, the creative spirit of which—national independence achieved—burst out in an activity in every line of endeavor never before witnessed in the history of the nation. The national house put in order, prosperity restored, Finland being in the eyes of foreign visitors the bright spot of Europe, thoughts turned again to erecting the Parliament House, now

as a monument to the independence of a democratic nation. New plans were drawn by a new generation of architects, and the award was given to the architectural firm of Borg, Siren & Aberg. It is known that the real creator of the building is the architect, J. S. Siren, one of the foremost in the now flourishing realm of Finnish architecture.

The description of the building was given by Professor Carolus Lindberg of the Technical University of Helsinki as follows:

"The most characteristic feature of the building is perhaps the tense concentration of its masses into a great, complete cube, outside of which there are really only two low, terrace-like wings bordering the main building. * * * In combination with the great open stairway leading to the high main level of the building, these wings bind the whole design to the base of natural rock whence the building, itself clothed in granite, springs. Once free of this base, its masses, stereometrically pure in contour, rise heavenward in a monumentality not due to effects of contrast obtained by dividing or differentiating masses, or to animated profiles or wealth of individual forms, but a monumentality whose basic characteristic is a simplicity ennobled by a calm dignity. In this respect the new Parliament Building does not break away from the architectural traditions of Finland, in which—leaving aside exceptional cases—the same honest simplicity and lack of formal wealth is apparent. The detail most stressed in the architectural language of the Parliament Building is the mighty row of pillars attached to the projections from the walls, which adorns its main façade.

"The building material chosen for the main façade is Finnish granite, obtained from a quarry founded for the purpose in the parish of Kalvola, where the stone, as regards both color and texture, differs from the various other red and gray granite species much in use here. The color of this particular stone is an indefinite purple gray, inclining almost to yellow in the broken surfaces produced by a stonemason's tools.

ESTONIA—A new Estonian Ministry was formed on Dec. 9 and received a vote of confidence from the Diet. The Ministry included: M. Toennisson, Prime Minister and President of the State; M. Rebane, Foreign Minister; M. Tetso, Finance; M. Reek, War, and M. Hinderson, Interior.

LATVIA—Apparent confirmation of the Swedish charges against the Soviet Union was furnished by a dispatch from Riga, Latvia, which declared that the Latvian police had discovered and arrested seventeen Latvian officers employed as Soviet spies operating in Riga, Dvinsk and other cities.

The Soviet Opposition Disintegrates

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE Congress of the Communist Party, consisting of 1,200 elected and 400 invited delegates, convened on Dec. 2, 1927, for the first time since December, 1925. It assembled to hear reports from Stalin, for its Central Executive Committee, on the past administration of the political and governmental affairs of the Soviet Union; from Ordjonokidse, for the Central Control Committee and the Peasants and Workers' Inspection Department, with regard especially to the factiousness of Trotsky, Zinoviev and their associates; from Bukharin for the Russian delegation in the Communist International; from Kurski, Commissar of Justice; from Rykov, Chief Commissar, and Krizizanovsky, head of "Gosplan," the Soviet Planning Commission, with respect to the program for the economic development of the Soviet Union during the next five years, and from Molotov, Secretary of the Communist Party of Moscow, on the spread of the principles of communism among the peasants.

Notwithstanding the importance of all these matters which were coming up for formal action by the Congress of the Communist Party, the main interest centred upon the question: What would the Congress actually do when it came to the matter of the expulsion of the Opposition from the party? The other matters were tangled with the controversy between the group about Trotsky and the Administration of Stalin and his associates. But there could have been little real doubt as to the action which the Congress would take. It was fairly evident that Stalin and his supporters had delayed the assembly of the Congress until they could be sure that the number of the delegates in sympathy with the Opposition had been confined to an unmistakable minority. And yet, on the first day the managers of the assembly put the Congress of the Communist Party through the formality of selecting a special commission of 117 members to deliberate upon the status of the Oppositionists.

What was behind such a dilatory move? Why, if Stalin and his group had control of the Congress, did they not at once have

that body give the final decree of the Communist Party against the Opposition? Were the supporters of Stalin afraid of the Opposition? Were they still uncertain how great was the potentiality among the people of Trotsky's fame as a leader in the Revolution? Stalin, of course, would prefer to envelop his own private desires in the cloak of party action. But, from subsequent developments, we may presume to say that there was another very good reason for the delay afforded by submitting the issue to a special commission. The Opposition was not really solid, and rifts began to appear in it under the weight of the impending decision of the Communist Party Congress. If Stalin bided his time a few days longer he might find that the faction about Trotsky had disintegrated. Its individual members would become so concerned with their own personal futures that they would be unable to take collective action for their common cause.

Rakovsky dared to speak for the Opposition before the Congress on Dec. 5 in defense of his own position. And he was allowed to talk for nearly twenty minutes before he was shouted down. But Kamenev, who was also expected to address the Congress in behalf of the Opposition at that time, did not do so. Within a few days the foreign correspondents in Moscow learned that Kamenev, Zinoviev and their immediate associates among the Oppositionists were willing to capitulate and to abandon their pretension to the right of criticizing the policies of the Administration. It was announced that they would also have to reveal the details of the "underground" organization which had been spreading propaganda against the Administration; but that requirement was not considered very burdensome, for it seemed likely that the Administration had already found out through the "Ogpu." On the other hand, Trotsky and his immediate followers—among whom were Rakovsky, Radek and Muralov—were reported as still insisting that they should be allowed to maintain their opinions against those of the Administration and to "advocate them openly within the limits of the party rules." While

Zinoviev and Kamenev were seeking to get back in favor with those in control of the machinery of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, Trotsky was standing firm. The solidarity of the Opposition was broken; its members could now be treated individually.

On Dec. 18 the special commission of the Congress made its report. Smilga, speaking for the Opposition, declared that he and his comrades, even though expelled from the party, would continue nevertheless to work as best they could for the cause of the Revolution. Some interpreted this statement to mean that the Opposition would continue to hold apart from the Administration. Others thought that it indicated quite the contrary. The Congress seems to have disregarded it altogether. The situation was right for final action. The Congress voted unanimously to expel all of the leaders of the Opposition from the party, Kamenev along with Rakovsky, Radek, Smilga, Muralov and the rest, whether belonging to the group which had stood by Trotsky or the faction which had just sought pardon with Zinoviev and Kamenev. But there was a significant amendment to the original motion for expulsion. It provided that the rank and file of the Opposition should be allowed to stay in the Communist Party and should be led to see the error of their ways. An immediate report from Leningrad said that some three hundred minor adherents to the Opposition there had recanted.

On the following day Zinoviev, Kamenev and ten associates addressed a petition to

the Congress to ask readmission to the Communist Party on the ground that they had fully withdrawn their opinions in opposition to the policies of the Administration. Perhaps they thought that their eleventh-hour overture to regain favor with Stalin and his group entitled them to special consideration. They were advised, however, that their case was closed, so far as the Congress of the Communist Party was concerned. They could make individual appeals to the Central Control Committee for admission to the party six months hence, provided that they have conducted themselves in the meantime to the satisfaction of that committee.

After the resolution expelling the Oppositionists, the Congress of the Communist Party elected Stalin to succeed himself as General Secretary of the Communist Party and, of course, reconstituted the Central Executive Committee to his liking. It went without saying that the new Executive Committee would organize the powerful Political Bureau along the same lines. Evidently Stalin has emerged from one more contest with Trotsky and the Oppositionists entirely successful. His rivals have failed not only to break his hold upon the Communist Party and the Soviet Government but also to maintain their own organization. Zinoviev and Kamenev have surrendered. Trotsky remains a private citizen of the Soviet Union without standing in the Communist Party which he did so much to place in power. But there are few who will venture to declare that he has taken his last part in Russian affairs.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

ALTHOUGH Litvinov's interview with Sir Austen Chamberlain (see December CURRENT HISTORY) apparently had no satisfactory results, Litvinov did persuade certain Swiss bankers, with British and American associates, to undertake a loan to the Soviet Government amounting to about \$800,000. The money is to be expended in Switzerland to purchase locomotives and coaches from the Swiss company, Brown & Boverie, for the Soviet railroads.

During the middle of December, apparently after word had come that the United States Department of State would make no objection, the Council of Commissars approved the agreement between the Soviet Government and an American group of financiers, headed by Percival Farquhar, to provide a credit of \$40,000,000 for six years.

The capital thus obtained in the United States is to be invested in new equipment for the Soviet metallurgical enterprise at Makeevsky in the Donetz coal basin. The Soviet Government is expected to expend, in addition, some 50,000,000 rubles (approximately \$25,000,000) for developing that industry.

A Soviet commission of industrial engineers and mining experts left Moscow on Nov. 30 to make arrangements under the Farquhar concession and to study American industrial methods, particularly steel-making. When they arrived at New York on Dec. 14, although including in their number an official of so high a rank as Makarov, Vice Chairman of the Soviet Metal Trust, they were detained at Ellis Island, brought before a special board of inquiry and re-



Russia: "Bah! Bourgeois! Not one of them will look at me!"
—Mucha, Warsaw

quired to give bonds of \$500 each that they would not stay in the United States more than six months. They were somewhat annoyed at such treatment, and there was some public criticism as well, but the immigration authorities of the United States had

no choice in the matter. These officials from Russia had to be treated as mere individual newcomers to the United States, because their Government does not enjoy recognition by the Government of the United States.

Sergiei D. Sazonov, Foreign Minister under the late Czar at the outbreak of the World War, died on Dec. 25 in Nice at the age of 61. Born in 1866 of a great land-owning family and devoted to the monarchy, Sazonov was nevertheless a proponent of many reforms. In fact it was his support of home rule for the Poles which brought about his resignation, on ostensible grounds of ill health, in 1916. He declined to recognize the Bolsheviks, becoming Foreign Minister of the counter-revolutionary Omsk Government after the October revolution of 1917, and continued to oppose recognition of the Bolsheviks at Versailles and at Geneva, even protesting against feeding them when they were in straits after the destruction of much of Russia's wealth in civil war. The Bolsheviks subsequently published Foreign Office documents incriminating him on a number of charges. He was accused of having refused French mediation when Germany was mobilized and of many and various plots and secret alliances which helped to precipitate the great catastrophe. He consistently denied these charges, particularly the charge that Russia started the war.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

The New Treaty Between Great Britain And Iraq

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A REVISED treaty between Great Britain and Iraq was signed on Dec. 14. Five days later what purported to be the text of the treaty was brought out in Cairo in the newspaper *Al Kashaf*. On Dec. 20 the terms were announced in the British Parliament, substantially as published in Cairo.

A new phase is thus reached in the ten years' development of the Iraqi State under the guidance of Britain. Upon occupying Bagdad on March 11, 1917, General Maude

promised in a proclamation that alien institutions would not be imposed and that Arab aspirations would be realized. A few months later Sir Percy Cox was appointed Civil Commissioner. On Nov. 7, 1918, the British and French Governments joined in a declaration which stated their aims in the Arab countries to be "the complete and final enfranchisement of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of national governments and administrations drawing their authority

from the initiative and free choice of the native population." Colonel A. T. Wilson was directed by the British Government to hold an inquiry whether the people of Iraq wished a united Arab State under British advice, and whether they desired an Arab Amir, and if so, whom they would suggest. A variety of answers resulted. In Bagdad the representative Moslems asked for an Arab State under a son of King Hussein of the Hejaz.

The course of events in 1919 and 1920 caused the Islamic world to resent the action of the victorious Powers. Although it was announced on June 20, 1920, that Sir Percy Cox would establish a provisional Arab Government in the Autumn and would summon an elected assembly which would prepare a Constitution, revolt broke out at the beginning of July, in which a number of Englishmen was killed. The British Government was obliged to put forth a considerable effort in repressing the rebellion. By Nov. 10 Sir Percy Cox had come as High Commissioner and had formed a provisional Council of State. A conference was held at Cairo in the early part of 1921, after which a general amnesty was published, and Amir Faisal was proposed for the throne of Iraq. On July 11 a Council of Ministers declared him King of Iraq, and provided that his Government should be constitutional, representative and democratic. A referendum resulted in the casting of 96 per cent. of the votes for King Faisal. He was crowned King on Aug. 23, 1921.

In the next year the King and the Prime Minister, expressing the wishes of many independent-minded Arabs of Iraq, asked that the mandate over Iraq which Britain had accepted from the League of Nations in May, 1920, be abrogated and replaced by a treaty of alliance. A bitter controversy arose, which was finally compromised by a treaty of alliance within the scope of the mandate. This was signed on Oct. 10, 1922, but not ratified until 1924. The Constituent Assembly met on March 27 of that year and debated the treaty and supplementary agreements until June 10. There was special complaint against the financial burdens proposed, and the British Government finally promised to reconsider these questions, but insisted that the documents be ratified before midnight of June 10. This was done, and the Assembly proceeded to pass organic and electoral laws. The documents were ratified in the following Winter. The first Parliament met on July 16, 1925.

The settlement of the Mosul question led to modifications in the treaty. It was originally provided that the treaty should continue no longer than 1928, after which it was expected that Iraq would be completely independent. The Council of the League of Nations stated on Dec. 16, 1925, that the province of Mosul would be awarded to Iraq provided the relationship with Great Britain should be extended for a longer period. A new treaty was then prepared by which the relations were to be extended for not more than twenty-five years, to be terminated in case Iraq should sooner become a member of the League of Nations. This treaty was signed on Jan. 13, 1926, and accepted by the Parliament of Iraq on Jan. 18 and by the British Parliament on Feb. 18.

During much of the year 1927 agitation was carried on in the direction of securing the speedy admission of Iraq into the League of Nations. To bring this about it must be proved that the country is ready to fulfill its obligations according to the first article of the covenant, this meaning that Iraq should be able to accept full military and financial responsibility for the preservation of internal order and for the defense of the country against foreign aggression. Difficulties arose because the Iraq Government believed that only through conscription could it carry the military responsibility involved, and conscription was opposed by the British Government and by many citizens of Iraq. The British Government suggested that the difficulty might be solved by organizing a Gendarmerie. During the Autumn, King Faisal and Prime Minister Jaafar Pasha visited London and carried on direct negotiations. At the end of November it appeared that the negotiations had failed, and the Prime Minister started for Iraq, expecting to resign his office. A farewell luncheon was given by the British Government to the King. During the informal discussion, a new possibility of agreement developed, and negotiations were resumed. Within a few days the new treaty was signed.

PROVISIONS OF ANGLO-IRAQ TREATY

The following summary of the treaty was cabled from Cairo:

Article 1—His Britannic Majesty recognizes the Kingdom of Iraq as an independent sovereign State.

Article 2—Peace and friendship shall exist between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Iraq. The two high contracting parties engage themselves to maintain friendly relations, each party doing his utmost to prevent all illegal actions in his country

calculated to have a repercussion upon the peace and order of the other country.

Article 3—The King of Iraq assures the execution of these international engagements which his Britannic Majesty has engaged himself to execute with regard to Iraq. The King of Iraq undertakes to make no change in the Iraqi Constitution which will affect foreign interests or rights, or create any distinction between Iraqis, whatever their race, religion, or language, in their rights before the law.

Article 4—This article provides for the complete and frank negotiation between the two parties of all external political questions calculated to have an influence on their common interests.

Article 5—The King of Iraq agrees to put the British High Commissioner in a position whereby he will be able to keep his Britannic Majesty informed of the progress of Iraq and the plans and proposals of the Iraqi Government. The High Commissioner will keep the King of Iraq informed on all questions which his Britannic Majesty considers are calculated to have an influence contrary to the interests of Iraq or the engagements guaranteed by the present treaty.

Article 6—The subject of this article is the execution of International Conventions regarding the white slave, and drug traffics, illicit trading in arms, commercial equality, free transit, navigation, wireless, and aerial navigation, as well as the Pact of the League of Nations, the Treaty of Lausanne, the Anglo-French Agreement regarding frontiers, and the San Remo Agreement regarding petrol.

Article 7—This article relates to the execution of the measures adopted by the League of Nations for fighting disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 8—His Britannic Majesty will support Iraq's candidature for admission to the League of Nations in 1932, provided that the present level of progress be maintained and that things go well in the meantime.

Article 9—There shall be no discrimination in Iraq against the nationals of any member of the League or of States to which the King of Iraq has guaranteed similar rights as to members of the League. This covers companies constituted according to the laws of the respective countries, and includes questions concerning commerce, navigation, taxes, the exercise of trades and professions, and the treatment of merchant vessels and aircrafts. The article also provides that there shall be no discrimination against the exports or imports of the said States.

Article 10—This deals with British protection of Iraqis in countries where Iraq is not officially represented.

Article 11—A clause safeguarding the validity of existing contracts between the Iraqi Government and British officials.

Article 12—Refers to financial relations and embodies a new agreement to take the place of the Financial Agreement of March 25, 1924.

Article 13—A separate military agreement shall be concluded, to take the place of the Military Agreement of March 25, 1924.

Article 14—The existing Judicial Agreement of March 25, 1924, shall remain in vigour.

Article 15—Any dispute as regards the in-

terpretation of the treaty shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice in accordance with Article 14 of the Convention of the League if, as indicated on Article 8 of the treaty, Iraq enters the League of Nations. The present treaty will supersede the two treaties of alliance signed in Bagdad on Oct. 10, 1922, and on Jan. 18, 1926, respectively.

Article 16—The present treaty shall come into operation after its ratification.

The chief compromise involved in the new treaty is that, on the one hand, the Kingdom of Iraq is at once recognized as an independent sovereign State, while, on the other hand, the proposal that Iraq be admitted to the League of Nations is deferred four or five years.

Immediately after the publication in Iraq of the terms of the treaty, Rashid Ali al Gilani, Acting Prime Minister, and Yasin Pasha al Hashini, the Minister of Finance, presented their resignations. They are said to have maintained that the optimistic forecasts of the Iraqis in London misled them, and caused them to mislead the people of Iraq. Jaafar Pasha el Askari was then appointed Prime Minister.

Economic conditions in Iraq were much better during 1926 and 1927 than in Palestine, Syria, or Egypt. Crops were good, labor trouble was practically non-existent, industry flourished, and the revenue of the Government exceeded the estimates by more than 8 per cent.

The army and police force of Iraq have been carried forward during the past six years as rapidly as the Government with British help could accomplish. It now consists of about 10,000 men, including seven infantry battalions, three cavalry regiments, five batteries of artillery, and three transport companies. The Government of Iraq spends about \$5,000,000 annually upon the army. In addition the British Government spends about \$1,500,000, principally upon supporting levies.

On Jan. 5 the Government announced its concurrence with the British Government in sending a punitive expedition against the Wahabi tribesmen who have been harrying the frontier.

TURKEY—An extensive summary of the famous discourse of President Mustapha Kemal Pasha delivered between Oct. 15-20, 1927, was published in the Turkish Journal *Ikdam* of Constantinople and reproduced in Italian translation in the *Oriente Moderno* for November, 1927. It was announced that the entire speech, with justifying documents, would be issued shortly in Turkish, French, German and English.

The Turkish People's Republican Party assembled in Congress at Angora adopted, on Oct. 23, 1927, a Constitution of 123 articles. Of those the most important provide as follows: The party is a republican, popular, nationalistic association, and its seat is at Angora; the principal purpose of the party is the conservation of the Republican régime, which alone guarantees the progress and welfare of the country; the party sustains the principle that religious and secular affairs shall be held completely separate in State and national life; all are equal before the law; it is necessary to promote and diffuse the Turkish language and culture, because a unity of language, sentiment and ideas is the strongest bond between fellow-citizens; Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, founder of the party, is its President-General.

The Minister of Marine Affairs was implicated in a scandal over the repair of the Turkish cruiser *Yavuz*, which was formerly the German ship *Goeben*. The Minister was impeached, and it was reported his ministry had been abolished, because of signing a contract with a French repair company without consulting the National Assembly.

Differences arose in December between France and England over the Turkish debt. France owns a 10 per cent. interest in the Turkish pre-war debt, while Germany owns 20 per cent. and Belgium 4 per cent. The British and Italian interests are claimed to be less than 4 per cent. The French are demanding that the headquarters of the Council of the Ottoman Debt be transferred to Paris and that the French be given a more important representation.

EGYPT—Early in December, in replying to the Egyptian Speech from the Throne, the Chamber of Deputies debated the relations of Egypt with England. Requests were made of the Prime Minister, Sarwat Pasha, for more information as regarded his conversations with Sir Austen Chamberlain. His insistence that he was pledged not to reveal details of the talk was, however, accepted peaceably.

The Egyptian Government has appointed a commission to make recommendations concerning reforms in Al Azhar University. The Commission is composed of members of Parliament, officials from the Ministry of Education and religious leaders.

SYRIA—A debate was held on Dec. 15 before the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the French Senate in regard to

conditions in Syria. M. Henri Lemerle had just returned from visiting Syria and the Lebanon. His report was confirmed by M. de Jouvenel, recently High Commissioner for Syria. Both agreed that the situation was far from satisfactory, and both expressed a fear that it might become worse in the coming Spring. Many difficulties have arisen, political, economic and psychological. They have not all been solved, and consequently there is much discontent. Many persons claim that the principal cause of discontent is the inaction of France. It is said that France is far too slow in giving the country a definitive Constitution, in furthering its economic revival, in reforming its judicial and administrative organizations, and in providing order, liberty and prosperity. France is accused merely of awaiting an opportunity to trade Syria off for African territory or for financial advantages. A strong current of French opinion favors the beginning of sustained activity to improve these conditions.

Some months ago plans were prepared and approved by the French Government to improve also the situation of the thousands of Armenian refugees in Syria. It was proposed to create at Beirut a new Armenian quarter to replace the group of temporary huts in which the Armenians have been living for five or six years. A credit of 3,000,000 francs was provided from funds of the Lebanon, a site was bought, and houses are now being built. The plans provided further for improving health and sanitation in the camps at Aleppo and for draining the marshes at Alexandretta, near which 6,000 Armenians live in wretched huts, exposed to malaria and other diseases. The plans also contemplate the transfer of families now in the camps to agricultural locations of a permanent character. Where this plan has been begun the people aided have taken hold quickly and have become self-supporting within a short time. Some few years ago the Armenians in Syria were offered the opportunity of becoming citizens of one of the Syrian States, and approximately 90 per cent. accepted the offer.

ARABIA—It was reported in November that certain Wahabis, led by Mazid ibn Dawish, had made a raid into Iraq because of the establishment of a police post at Busiyah, which action they considered to be an infringement upon the use of certain lands for grazing. They destroyed the post and killed some twenty policemen and thirty laborers. The post is claimed to be seven-

ty-five miles north of the frontier. Sultan ibn Saud protested a year ago against the establishment of this post on the ground that the frontier had not been properly surveyed. Whether he was directly connected in any way with the raid does not appear. Another Wahabi raid was reported in December, led by Shaikh ibn Shugair, to Jahrah in the Sultanate of Koweit.

Whereas it was reported that out of 50,000 pilgrims who passed through Jeddah, coming from the Dutch East Indies, only 35,000 survived to go home, the Dutch Consul at Jeddah has declared as follows: About 50,000 pilgrims came in 1927 from the Dutch East Indies. About 3,000 died before returning to Jeddah; about 2,000 more died on the voyage or disappeared, so that there was a loss of not more than 10 per cent. The Dutch Government gives no passport to a subject who has not been inoculated against smallpox, cholera and typhoid. Considering that among the pilgrims are many women and children and old men, and that some of the pilgrims reached the Hejaz three months before the proper time for the pilgrimage, the proportion who died is indeed smaller than might be expected.

PALESTINE—In the middle of December trouble broke out in the Jewish colony at Petach Tikveh because of the employing of Arab labor by Jewish colonists at a time when a number of Jews in the colony were without work. The colony has a population of 6,500, of whom 600 are said to be without employment. Growers of oranges have long been accustomed to engage Arab laborers for picking and packing. The attempt was made by Jewish workmen to prevent Arabs from reaching the orange groves. British police were summoned, and after some fighting fifteen Jews were taken to the hospital, including four girls who were badly hurt, and seventeen were

arrested and taken to Jaffa. In protest the unemployed marched to the Council Hall of the colony and smashed windows and furniture. Later the British Police Commissioner for the Southern District of Palestine occupied the colony, dismissed the Council and forbade public assemblies.

It is claimed that the Jewish unemployed asked approximately twice as much for a given amount of unskilled labor as is asked by the Arabs, and that the orange industry cannot pay this amount and continue in existence. The Jews affirm that they are working to raise living conditions for all the inhabitants of Palestine. A commission has been set up to inquire into the wages of unskilled labor in Palestine and make recommendations. The commission of three consists of an Englishman, a Jew and an Arab.

An Arab Liberal Party is reported to have been formed, with headquarters at Jaffa. It aims at the abolition of the Balfour Declaration, with otherwise complete cooperation with the Mandatory Government. It desires the extinction of the Arab Executive, and disagrees with previous Arab Congresses because of their opposition to the Mandate, except as regards the Balfour Declaration.

PERSIA—The Persian Government has entered protest with the League of Nations against certain clauses of the recent treaty between England and the Hejaz, viz., the clauses which deal with the Island of Bahrein. Persia claims that when the Hejaz undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with the territories of Bahrein, the implication is that the island is in a special relation with Britain, when the contrary is true. The Persians claim that when in 1869 Persia protested against a special agreement between Great Britain and Sheiks of Bahrein, Lord Clarendon recognized the justice of the protest.



The Nanking Junta Breaks With The Soviets

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THE Nationalist Government, through Kuo Tai-chi, its Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, broke off diplomatic and Consular relations with Soviet Russia on Dec. 15, 1927. A portion of the statement handed by Mr. Kuo to the Soviet Consul General at Shanghai read as follows:

The Nationalist Government has for some time been informed by various reports that the Soviet Consulates and Soviet State commercial agencies * * * have been used as headquarters for Red propaganda and as asylums for Communists, but exposure of these facts has been withheld in view of the international relations between China and Russia.

After reciting the recent Communist coup d'état at Canton, described below, the statement continued: "It is hereby ordered that Consuls of the U. S. S. R. * * * shall suspend their functions in order that the root of the evil influence may be eradicated. * * *"

All Consular officials within Nationalist territory were given seven days in which to pack up and leave. The breach of relations involved also the closing of the Russian Dalbank, the departure of the Russian Trade Commission and the cessation of operations by Russian State shipping. Private trading with Russians was not involved in the break. However, a large number of non-official Russians were ordered out of Shanghai and other cities. The Soviet Foreign Minister denied the allegations. In view of the previous hand-in-glove alliance between Soviet Russia and the Nationalist armies, both the allegations and their denial are, to say the least, most amusing. The German Government was requested to take charge of Soviet Consular interests in South China, and agreed to do so.

This wholly unexpected action went beyond the Peking Government's stroke of April, 1927, when, as a result of a raid by Marshal Chang Tso-lin's police upon Soviet Embassy properties, the U. S. S. R. withdrew its embassy staff and diplomatic relations were discontinued. The justification offered by the Nanking authorities was similar to that alleged earlier at Peking, and it appears that the underlying motive also was identical—that of obtaining the

good-will of the principal "treaty" Powers—Japan, Great Britain and the United States. Russian money, ammunition, administrative advice, publicity work—the agencies by which the Nationalist Party was enabled to reach its present position along the Yangtse River—had served their turn. The Soviets have now to chew the bitter pill that is administered to every foreign Power attempting to "pick a winner" in the Chinese civil war. Sooner or later defection occurs in the ranks, a new leadership develops and old alliances with outsiders give place to new.

An uprising of so-called laborers and peasants at Canton on Dec. 11 was made the occasion for the break with the Soviets, though the decision to terminate relations was taken before this. The uprising was reported as initiated by a regiment in the army of General Chang Fa-kuei, who recently ousted Li Chai-sun and assumed control of Canton. For reasons unexplained, General Chang ordered the disarming of this regiment, which resisted, and was joined by several thousand men, who were described in an official dispatch from the American Consul at Canton as "city riff-raff, linked up with robber bands from the country districts." Orders from Nanking to General Chang to raid the Soviet Consulate at Canton became known, with the result that an attempt was made, possibly under Russian leadership, to forestall the action by establishing a peasants and workers' government over the city. Consul Jay C. Huston cabled that the revolt was crushed by General Chang Fa-kuei within forty-eight hours. During the fighting, in which looting and burning occurred, Americans and other nationals were evacuated from certain parts of Canton, but were allowed to return to their homes on the following day. The Chinese populace was less sanguine, and migration to Hongkong continued until the number leaving Canton was estimated in the thousands. A ghastly orgy of revenge followed the revolt, in which 600 Chinese were reported as executed in one group. Eight or nine Russians, including a Vice Consul, also were put to death without trial. Foreign Minister Chicherin in Moscow laid the massacres at the door of "Eng-

lish imperialist reaction," and declared that his Government reserved the right to take punitive measures.

Appearances thus indicated that the bloody affair at Canton was merely an incident of the process by which the so-called Nationalist Government at Nanking has become wholly militarized, a process which has disguised itself cleverly for foreign consumption by the most barbarous treatment of alleged "Communists," who are, in fact, those leaders, as well as the rank and file of the liberal element in the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, who refuse to act as stool pigeons for the parasitic *tuchuns*.

The decision to break with Soviet Russia was taken in the fourth plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which convened from Dec. 2 to 10. The meetings were held at the home in the French settlement at Shanghai recently purchased by General Chiang Kai-shek for \$100,000 (Mex.) to go fittingly with the \$10,000 motor car presented by the General to his new bride. Chiang returned definitely to Kuomintang political and military councils, but did not reassume the title of generalissimo. The session accomplished little, as the discussions were disturbed by factional differences. Chiang Kai-shek was appointed a committee of one to summon the fourth plenary session of the Nationalist Party early in January. The storm centre of the session was Wang Ching-wei, formerly Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. He demanded that the military junta at Nanking, which had been absorbing all authority within the party, be dissolved and that the Central Executive Committee resume both its civilian character and its former control of governmental policy. Chiang Kai-shek was unable to reconcile the two elements, though he was regarded by both as the logical man to reunite the party. A subsequent testimony to the difficulty of the task was the resignation late in December of the Nanking Cabinet, in which C. C. Wu, Foreign Minister, and Sun Fo, Finance Minister, were two of the ablest and most progressive members. It was anticipated that their places would be taken by friends of General Feng Yu-hsiang, among whom were mentioned Dr. C. T. Wang and General Huang Fu. A coalition of General Feng's influence with that of Chiang Kai-shek seemed probable. Kuo Tai-chi became acting Foreign Minister.

An interesting exchange of views took place by cable between General Chiang Kai-shek and his sister-in-law, Mme. Sun Yat-

sen. Mme. Sun sought to prevent Chiang from breaking with the Soviets, reminding him of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's belief in the importance of that connection. Chiang replied that changed conditions made a new policy inevitable. He asserted that "Soviet Russia made a mockery of cooperation by persistently subverting the principles" of the Kuomintang. Mme. Sun wired the "Anti-Imperialist" Congress in session at Brussels that she was resigning from the Kuomintang, as it had betrayed its founder, Dr. Sun.

At Hankow the new military control, under Generals Cheng Chien and Li Tsung-jen, attained the appearance of stability. The former ruler of the Wuhan area, General Tang Seng-chi, fled to Japan. On Dec. 16 the Soviet Consulate was raided and its Chinese and Russian occupants arrested. A round-up of persons believed to be Communists was conducted. The barbarities perpetrated against women at Peking, Shanghai, Canton and elsewhere were repeated at Hankow. Even the international hospital, a foreign institution, was entered and its patients terrorized. Authorities of the French concession looked on unconcerned while the raid went on within that area. Executions followed as usual. Women with bobbed hair—now the sign of Communist allegiance in South China—were shot down on the streets without even the formality of arrest. Foreign interests in general were not menaced.

General Feng's motions in North Central China continued somewhat veiled by lack of adequate dispatches. His campaign against Chang Tsung-chang and Sun Chuan-fang of Shantung made headway but very slowly. The landing of 200 additional Japanese marines at Tsingtao and the known apprehensions of Japan regarding seizure of the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway caused Feng to direct a "scissors" attack to the north and south of Tsinan, hoping to compel the flight of the Shantung Generals without the necessity of fighting within the military zone. He maintained his alliance with the Nanking Generals, who sent troops up the Tientsin-Pukow line to his aid. Tsining, southwest of Tsinan and in Shantung Province, was the most easterly point taken by Feng's troops.

The fighting in Northwest China between Marshal Chang Tso-lin, Peking "Dictator," and Governor Yen of Shansi served little beyond maintaining a stalemate. Chang's forces finally, after a siege of seventy-nine days, captured Chochow on the Peking-Hankow line. They were unable to

penetrate beyond the high hills flanking Northeastern Shansi. Yen failed in his efforts to recover Suiyan, over which Chang Tso-lin designated one of his own men as Governor.

The international implications of the return of Chiang Kai-shek to power and the Nationalist repudiation of communism were important. Rumors in Shanghai, quite outside Soviet circles, suggested that certain treaty Powers were behind the new alignment. General Chiang took immediate occasion to call for more friendly treatment from foreign States: "I think the time is propitious," he said on Dec. 11, "for the Powers to initiate new steps looking to treaty revision forthwith, which action would have a great moral effect on the Chinese people. I shall be pleased to discuss revision with an American commission in the event that a responsible body is sent to China, and hope that Peking and Nanking will be able to agree on the terms of such revision." He mentioned a report that President Coolidge was considering sending a commission to China to investigate the prospects for treaty revision. On Dec. 7 Mr. MacMurray, American Minister to China, en route back to Peking, stated in Japan that: "The net result of my visit to

America is that no radical change is to be made in our policy toward China. * * *

We shall not bind ourselves to act in concert with the Powers, and we reserve the liberty to act independently if we think it right to do so." He stated further that, in accordance with previous practice, the United States would treat separately with actual authorities in the various regional Governments, but that such negotiations would not constitute recognition of such Governments in the legal sense. Speaking in New York on Dec. 13, Sir Frederick Whyte, recently returned from a quasi-official investigation of conditions along the Yangtse, declared that unless the liberal nations, especially the United States and Great Britain, gave support to the Nationalist movement in China it would be certain to turn again to the Soviets for aid. The Secretary of the China Union Universities in New York issued the statement that eleven of the sixteen mission colleges and universities in China are in operation with a normal quota of students. Seven of the eleven have almost a full complement of foreign teachers. Missionaries are being called back in continually increasing numbers, according to a Secretary of the Protestant Episcopal National Council.

OTHER EVENTS IN CHINA

INDICATIONS were that the discussions for a loan between the South Manchuria Railway Company and J. P. Morgan & Co. had been dropped on account of the widespread and bitter objections voiced by all sections of China. The Department of State, late in December, gave out the information that it had not been definitely advised that its attitude toward the loan would be sought, but that it held the impression that the bankers would not wish to proceed in the face of the popular disapproval in China. This carefully worded expression was interpreted as sufficient evidence that the State Department had decided not to approve the loan. In Tokio Mr. J. Yamamoto, President of the S. M. R., divulged the terms of the loan as providing for \$30,000,000 gold at 6 per cent. issued at 97. Although the banks might proceed without Government approval, they have uniformly refrained from such action. The South Manchuria Company's officials had already made overtures also in London, but no definite developments were made public. The *Nichi Nichi*, a Japanese daily, published a report that the Japanese Gov-

ernment had under contemplation new measures for the protection of the heavy investments of its citizens in China, said to total \$430,000,000. A sixty-three-mile branch of the S. M. R. from Chinchow, in the centre of the Japanese leased territory of Kwantung, Manchuria, northeast of Pitzuwo, was opened to traffic on Oct. 4.

The *China Express and Telegraph* (London) published a statement that the Soviet Government was projecting a loan of \$40,000,000 gold to Mongolia for the construction of a strategic railway from Kiakhta to Urga and thence to the frontier of Sinkiang.

Shantung and Chihli Provinces in North China were suffering from famine over considerable areas. Very poor crops and civil warfare combined to endanger the lives of some 9,000,000 people. The China International Famine Relief Commission appealed for aid to the American Red Cross and missionary societies broadcast similar appeals.

In the Province of Fengtien, Manchuria, the Civil Governor issued orders to the village headmen to prevent sales of land to Japanese and to cancel all contracts of sale in process of culmination.

EVENTS IN JAPAN

EMPEROR HIROHITO opened the fifty-fourth session of the Diet with a formal address to members of both Houses, read personally in the House of Peers on Dec. 26, 1927. After passing a bill providing for the anticipated expenses of coronation, which will take place in November, 1928, the two Houses adjourned until Jan. 18. The Cabinet is Seiyukai, which party does not command a majority in the House of Representatives. Although the Cabinet is not constitutionally responsible to either House of the Diet, it finds the process of legislation extremely difficult in the face of a hostile majority in the lower House. It may, therefore, resort to a general election before the Summer, when the next regular election for members of the lower House must take place unless a new House is elected before that time. Such action was likely only under special necessity, since the forthcoming general election will be the first to be held under the Manhood Suffrage law, enacted in 1925, and the Government wishes to make the fullest possible preparations toward its success.

An informal request by the Western Union Cable Company for permission to land its projected new cable at Hakodate in Northern Japan met with an unfavorable response from the Department of Communications on the technical ground that the Japanese law forbids foreign telegraph companies to operate in Japan. As this provision has been waived on previous occasions, hope was entertained that diplomatic efforts might be successful in a formal request for facilities.

Japan's and the Far East's first subway was opened to traffic on Dec. 30, 1927. It runs from Uto to Asakusa in Tokio, a distance of one and a half miles, at fare of 10 sen (5 cents). Difficulty was experienced getting passengers to leave the trains, so greatly did they enjoy the new sensation.

A report of the Reconstruction Bureau revealed that on Oct. 1, 1927, approximately 400,000,000 yen had been expended since the great earthquake of 1923 upon the rebuilding of Tokio and Yokohama, about half of the total destined to be devoted to reconstruction in those cities by the National and

Municipal Governments. Greatly improved cities are rising from the ashes of a terrible disaster.

The Government found difficulty in persuading the stronger banks to invest their surplus stocks of cash in business enterprises. The banks, still apprehensive after the panic of last Spring, preferred to buy Government bonds. The sale of the latter was suspended. In their place bonds of the Hypothec, the Industrial and the Agricultural banks were to be issued and the funds obtained placed at the disposal of farmers, manufacturers and business houses. The yen continued weak, due largely, according to the Minister of Finance, to lack of foreign confidence and heavy foreign sales of yen.

Japanese editors are giving much attention to the naval building program of the American Government. The editor of *Kokumin* wrote recently that: "Since the breakdown of the Geneva Conference the United States has directed her efforts to the expansion of her air forces and navy in the Pacific. * * * The promoter of the Tripartite Conference is the first to undertake the expansion of its fleets." A *Chugai Shogy* editorial contained the statement that: "It is plain that the United States entertains an intention to increase her armaments. If the United States really intends to carry out her plan of a larger army and navy, it will be regrettable for the sake of world peace. She possesses the greatest wealth in the world, and also she has the largest army and navy [!] and we do not see any necessity for increasing her armaments." The *Japan Chronicle* paraphrased the *Osaka Mainichi* as saying editorially that: "America was the first to turn her attention to the construction of warships after the Geneva Conference. * * * This attitude on the part of America has stimulated Britain's desire to build new vessels. * * * Their present attitude * * * must be construed as reflecting their desire to secure a high and favorable ratio for their navies at a future conference. Nothing disappoints the hopes of disarmament more sadly than this frame of mind."





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Continued from Page xxxii.

allied cause, offered under the guise of a Socialistic article, while in reality an expression of unbounded spite and venom toward the countries, including America, which opposed Germany in the war? **ANDERSON WOODS,**
New York City.

* * *

RELIGION OF MEXICAN INDIANS

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Mr. Martens states in the November issue that the Mexican Indians are indifferent to the persecutions against their faith because, at heart, they are no more Christians in any serious sense of the word than they were in the days of Montezuma and that "to this day, despite missionary effort, the Savior of the Hopi Indians of Arizona is a Red Christ, born of an Indian Virgin."

I have before me a letter from a Mexican missionary, written to his Bishop exiled in Texas. This is what he said: "In the country I find less desolation than in the urban districts, but I find the devotion to the Church strong everywhere and a longing for religious exercise. I have baptized numbers of children in different parishes, among them few children more than fifteen days of age. The people seem to have developed a special sense for discovering the place where a priest is to be found. I can say the same with regard to marriages as I have said with regard to baptisms. Very few except innocent children have died without the sacraments. Whenever I arrive at any range or village I find it difficult to refuse the generous gifts with which the people in their joy overwhelm me. At nights I teach catechism. The people love to be told about our Lord and His mother. Whenever it is possible to expose the Blessed Sacrament, great crowds gather."

It seems to me that Mr. Martens would be nearer the truth by saying that the Indians are not indifferent to their faith, but are as yet unable to overcome the obstacles in their way. We can give other reasons which render unsuccessful their attempts to repress persecution against their religion. They have to struggle with a Government strongly organized, which makes use of any means to suppress the most legitimate opposition of a people who have not learned yet how to use their political rights.

EDWARD MARION.

Barton, Vt.

* * *

Peter Keyser of the Provisional School of Agriculture, Alberta, Canada, writes as follows: "I take great pleasure in congratulating you and the staff of your eminent magazine. Graduate of a European university

Continued on Page xxxviii.

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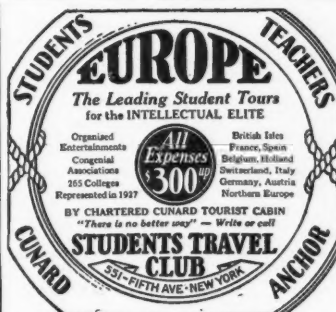
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Continued from Page xxxvi.

with a degree in Political Economy, I have read for three years practically every article appearing in CURRENT HISTORY. It is the best magazine of its kind for those who are interested in 'up-to-date' international policy."

* * *

AN ANSWER TO SIR ARTHUR KEITH To the Editor of Current History:

Sir Arthur Keith, whose address on Darwinism appeared in the October issue, asserts that there are only fossil traces of *emerging* anthropoids in strata older than the Miocene and his theory—"definite and irrefutable"—of man's evolution from an ape-like being, starts absolutely from the Miocene, the fifteenth story of the building of the earth, the eighteenth story being our present period. However, the latest evidences in North America seem to upset this theory. I refer to:

(1) The discovery of a perfectly formed human lower left second molar tooth in the Fort Union layer of the Eocene period—the twelfth story—at Bear Creek, Montana, by Dr. J. C. F. Siegfriedt in 1926 and described by Dr. E. E. Free in *The Week's Science*.

(2) A fossilized shoe sole, neatly stitched, found by A. E. Knapp in Pershing City, Nev., January, 1927, in limestone of the Triassic Period—the ninth story—verified by the geologists of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York.

(3) The amazing discovery by Dr. Samuel Hubbard, Honorary Curator of Archaeology of the Oakland Museum, of a *line drawing* of a Dinosaur, upright and balanced on its tail, in the Hava Supai Canyon of Arizona, fifty miles from El Tovar Hotel, October, 1924. This pictograph is 40 feet above the present bed of the canyon, in an inaccessible position, to be reached only by the scaffold built by the Doheny Scientific Expedition. Verified by C. W. Gilmore, Curator of Paleontology, United States National Museum, its remoteness, its inaccessibility, the carving done with a silex, dispel any supposition of a modern "plant," not mentioning the impossibility of doing so without being found, watched and told on at once by the Indians of the Hava Supai Agency, fifteen miles down the canyon. The Dinosaurs belonged to the Triassic Period—millions and millions of years before the first mammals and the Miocene of Keith. Who carved, then and there, this sculpture?

R. AUZIAS DE TURENNE, A. B., A. E. M. I.
Seattle, Wash.

* * *

Dr. J. Simon of New York City writes: "I read your December number with keenest interest, especially the clear truth undauntedly announced by Dr. Kirchwey. May I suggest

a similar symposium on divorce—a phenomenon of equal importance in the gamut of social ills?”

* * *

INDIA OBTAINS HEARING

To the Editor of Current History:

I wish to thank you for the publication of the article on India by Dr. Cornelius in the December issue of your paper. During recent years a feeling has been growing in India that many Americans are only too glad, for reasons unknown, to act as tools of the British Government to spread anti-Indian propaganda and that there is virtually little chance for India to secure a hearing in America. The publication of the article by Dr. Cornelius will dispel this idea to some extent. It will also help to promote friendly feeling between “Indian India” and America, which is most desirable.

TARAKNATH DAS.

New York City.

* * *

Senor Hugo V. de Pena of the Uruguay Legation, Washington, D. C., writes to the Editor to point out that Señor José Serrato is no longer President of Uruguay as was stated in September CURRENT HISTORY, inasmuch as his term of office expired on March 1, 1927,

and on the same day Dr. Juan Campisteguy assumed the Presidency of the Republic of Uruguay for the constitutional term of 1927-1931.

* * *

The article “Progress of Higher Education in the West,” by Andrew R. Boone, in the January issue, should be brought up to date as follows: Dr. James F. Zimmerman has succeeded David S. Hill as President of the University of New Mexico, and the library of the university has been completed and contains over 60,000 volumes instead of 50,000 as stated.

* * *

Donald Skeen of Eugene, Ore., referring to Professor Barnes’s article on education in January CURRENT HISTORY, says: “How well Professor Barnes has stated the very evident truth of the situation, and how well his ideas appeal to the conscientious student and instructor. Serving in both these capacities, I myself feel indebted to a competent writer who openly criticizes an existing order that can well benefit by such criticism.” The article by Victor L. Berger, Mr. Skeen adds, “strikes me quite pleasantly, too, though I do not pretend to be Socialist (or otherwise) in sympathies. To these exponents of truth let us give praise, and more strength to them.”

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Annalist*

THE outstanding event of the month was the re-establishment of the Italian lira on a gold basis. The final step was taken Dec. 21, 1927, when a Government decree fixed the value of the paper lira at 19 to the dollar (5.26 cents to the lira), 92.46 to the pound sterling and 3.66 to the gold lira.

Earlier in 1927 a wave of speculative buying carried the value of the lira in the New York market to 5.84¢ cents; at that point the Government, through its Foreign Exchange Institute, intervened, and from then on the market value fluctuated within comparatively narrow limits, so that stabilization was in fact, already achieved. Just before *de jure* stabilization the lira stood at 5.43, so that at 5.26 the new par value is conservatively placed at a figure calculated to give Italian prices and consequently Italian internal trade the necessary stimulant to make the operation a success. Additional precautions consisted in the procuring by Italy of credits aggregating \$75,000,000 from the central banks of fourteen countries (most prominently from our Federal Reserve Banks and the Bank of England) and further credits amounting to \$50,000,000 from J. P. Morgan & Co. and other American and British banking houses.

This action by Italy leaves France and Spain the only important countries of Europe which have not officially stabilized their currencies. The principal countries which have returned to the gold standard are Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Hungary, Canada, Uruguay, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, India, Chile, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Poland, Argentina and Colombia. *De facto* stabilization exists in France, Portugal, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Brazil, Yugoslavia and Rumania.

An interesting aftermath of S. Parker Gilbert's recent criticism of German extravagance, governmental and private, was the publication of a manifesto, said to have been signed by leaders of organizations representative of German industry and commerce, calling for centralization of all fiscal, financial and even industrial and commercial activities under the control of the Federal Government of Germany. "A unified economic and financial policy demands the strengthening of the Federal Government's powers," asserts the manifesto. "The Federal Government should and must have the responsibility for the construction of financial policy." It proposes that the Reich Finance Minister be vested with the right to veto increases (voted by the Reichstag and corresponding bodies) of his budget estimates and those submitted by the corre-

sponding estimates of States and communes, with a right to veto in respect of State and municipal budgets before their submission to legislative bodies, and with the right to receive from the Governments of States and communes all necessary financial information. The manifesto condemns the increasing tax burdens, declares that steps must be vigorously taken to cut down production costs, assails the extravagance of States and communes and calls for drastic reduction of public payrolls.

The annual report of S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations, was made public on Dec. 16, 1927. Contrary to general expectation, it was milder in tone than the previous year's report. The following are its chief points:

1. In the third Dawes year, ended on Aug. 21, 1927, Germany loyally fulfilled her obligations under the Dawes Plan, paying in cash or in kind the annuity of 1,500,000,000 marks. There was no reason for apprehension as to payment of the annuity for the current Dawes year.

2. Mr. Gilbert repeated his former criticisms of the German budgets for the fiscal years 1927 and 1928, condemning Government extravagance, loose budgetary methods and the growing tendency to camouflage deficits by internal loans. He found, strangely enough, improvement in the 1929 budget, despite the fact that it called for an apparent total expenditure of 367,000,000 marks greater than that of the 1928 budget.

3. Mr. Gilbert declared the Reich currency to be absolutely sound and asserted that business conditions were good, with production high and unemployment no longer a problem, but with prices too high and domestic consumption excessive.

4. Mr. Gilbert noted the continued adverse foreign trade balance and observed that high foreign tariffs constituted the chief bar to increased German exports.

5. Finally, and most importantly: "And as time goes on and practical experience accumulates, it becomes always clearer that neither the reparation problem nor the other problems depending upon it will be solved until Germany has been given a definite task to perform on her own responsibility, without foreign supervision and without transfer protection. This, I believe, is the principal lesson to be drawn from the past three years, and it should be constantly in the minds of all concerned as the execution of the plan continues to unfold."

Three changes in discount rates were announced in December. On the 9th the Imperial



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Bank of India raised its official rate from 5 per cent. to 6 per cent., and on the 22d the rate was again increased to 7 per cent. On Dec. 29 the Bank of France lowered its discount rate from 5 per cent. to 4 per cent.

The reduction in the French bank rate seemed to be of special significance, since it apparently formed an additional link in a chain of events which indicated that France would return to the gold standard at an earlier date than formerly anticipated. It had been a generally accepted belief that formal stabilization would, for political reasons, be postponed until after the elections in May, 1928. On Dec. 29, however, coincident with the reduction in the discount rate, \$10,000,000 in gold was exported from the United States for the account of the Bank of France, and dispatches from Paris stated that \$20,000,000 more would be withdrawn by the Bank of France from New York.

The French Government, according to *The Journal of Commerce* (New York) has, in fact, already completed its plans for returning to the gold basis and is expected to take the step early in 1928. The exchange holdings of the Bank of France in December amounted to about \$1,250,000,000, and the available gold holdings were about \$750,000,000, making a total coverage of about \$2,000,000,000. The note circulation was about 55,000,000,000 francs, which, at the current rate of exchange, would allow a coverage of about 90 per cent. in gold and foreign exchange.

The outstanding feature of the domestic financial situation as the year 1927 came to a close was the continued heavy gold export movement and the efforts of the Federal Reserve Banks to offset the tightening which these exports would normally have on the money market by additional open market purchases of Government securities. These efforts, on the whole, met with success, although it was clear that in December, allowing for seasonal influences, interest rates, both on Stock Exchange loans and on commercial loans, were somewhat stiffer than in the preceding month. The returns of the combined Federal Reserve Banks also showed that member banks had had to increase their borrowings from the Federal Reserve Banks; in December the average amount of discounts for member banks, allowing for normal seasonal changes, stood at the highest figure since January, 1927, when the volume of business activity was considerably greater. Another indication of the changed state of affairs brought about by the outflow of gold was the recent decline in the reserve ratio, which for the last reporting date in 1927 stood at 66.8 per cent., as against 70.1 per cent. on the last reporting date of 1926.

Theoretically the amount of Reserve Bank

credit in use varies from month to month and from week to week roughly in proportion to the amount of money in circulation. The effect of recent heavy purchases of Government securities by the Federal Reserve Banks was, however, to increase sharply the amount of Reserve Bank credit in use, despite the fact that the amount of money in circulation, because of declining business activity, had been decreasing.

In December, 1927, according to preliminary figures compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, there was a net export balance of gold amounting to \$67,000,000. There was also an increase of \$6,000,000 in the amount of gold earmarked for foreign account, so that the net loss of gold for the month amounted to slightly under \$73,000,000. In the entire year 1927 the total loss of gold suffered by the United States amounted to about \$151,000,000. In actual gold movement there was a net import balance of about \$7,000,000, the loss of gold being accounted for by the earmarking for foreign account in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York of about \$158,000,000, which brought the total amount of earmarked gold in this country at the end of 1927 to approximately \$200,000,000.

Foreign exchange rates rose further during the first half of December, quotations on several foreign currencies reaching their gold export points in the New York market. Consequently the movement of gold to other countries became broader than in November. In the last four months of 1927 gold was shipped from the United States to thirteen foreign countries, with the largest amounts going to Argentina, Brazil and Germany.

The year 1927 came to a close with stock prices at the highest level in history, and, curiously enough, with the rate of general business activity at the lowest point since the depression of 1924. It was, of course, no new experience for stock prices to advance in the face of declining business activity, yet the disparity was so great that it is safe to say that 1927 was one of the most unusual years in the economic history of the country.

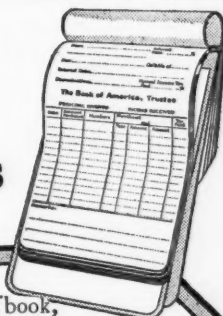
In view of that circumstance, it was perhaps natural to find the year-end forecasters of conditions in 1928 divided into two well-defined camps. The optimists pointed out that our abundant credit resources had not been used as a basis for inflation of commodity prices, that inventories were low and that the production of basic commodities had been closely adjusted to demand. For them the turn in the gold tide was cause for no concern: "There can be no doubt that the United States could lose up to \$1,000,000,000 in gold without disrupting the credit structure, if that were the question. This country's monetary gold, before the war, under an inelastic banking sys-

tem, totaled \$2,000,000,000. Elasticity in the banking machinery makes a given amount of gold do more work. We now have the Federal Reserve System and \$4,500,000,000 of gold. Before the war we had 23 per cent. of the world's monetary gold. Now, in addition to elasticity, we have 45 per cent."

The pessimists, on the contrary, pointed to the growing intensity of competition which was resulting in the narrowing of profit margins so that industrial net earnings could be maintained on a satisfactory scale only on the basis of quantity production, which in turn was resulting in the expansion of plant facilities to a degree far in excess of actual requirements. Under these circumstances smaller concerns were finding themselves at a disadvantage in the competitive struggle and eventually would themselves have to merge into larger units or fail. (Commercial failures in 1927 were numerically the second largest on record.) Admitting that there had been no inflation of commodity prices, the pessimists pointed to the huge expansion in bank credit and the potential dangers which lay in the uses to which it had been put. At the end of 1927, for example, commercial loans of reporting member banks were slightly lower than at the end of 1926, but loans on stocks and bonds and investments each stood more than \$800,000,000 higher than at the end of 1926. The annual report of the Controller of the Currency for the year ended June 30, 1927, shows that commercial loans (other than real estate loans) of all member banks of the reserve system decreased \$230,000,000, while real estate loans increased \$276,000,000, security loans increased \$835,000,000 and investments increased \$695,000,000.

The growth of loans and investments at the reporting member banks during 1927 was accompanied by an increase of about \$1,400,000,000 in the banks' combined net demand and time deposits, demand deposits showing an increase of \$738,000,000 and time deposits an increase of \$655,000,000 for the year. This increase in time deposits was in contrast with the two preceding years, when the volume of demand deposits remained constant, while time deposits increased steadily. The continuous growth in time deposits in recent years, which has considerably increased their proportion to total deposits, has been an important factor in enabling the member banks to increase their loans and investments in the past five years by about \$3,600,000,000 on a basis of \$445,000,000 added to their reserve balances. This expansion of bank credit during the past five years at the rate of about \$19 of credit to \$1 of reserves has reduced the average reserves held by member banks from 8.1 per cent. to 7.3 per cent. of the deposits subject to reserve requirements.

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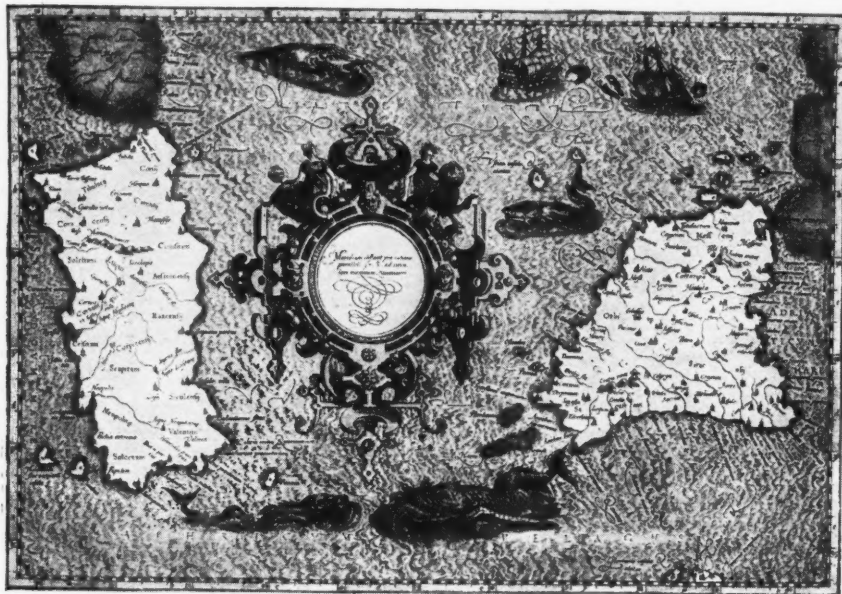


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Some terrors of the DEEP

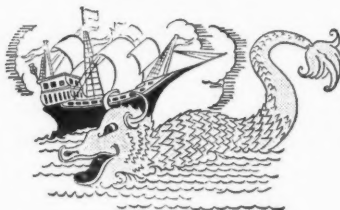
IT was a hostile world, with civilized man huddled in a small and not-too-safe corner!

Beyond, enormous monsters bared huge teeth, spat flames and slapped the waters with mountainous flukes.

Legends, neatly inscribed in Latin, told of fearful hurricanes and of malicious demons who lay in wait for unwary mariners.

And most men of the early sixteenth century, who saw these things on their maps, really believed in them. Columbus' crew, but a little before, had had to be recruited from unwilling landsmen, who looked upon their conscription for the voyage as a sentence of death.

It was the unknown that terrified! And as the unknown dwindled, as sea after sea, continent after continent, was explored and charted, the earth took on a friendlier aspect.



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